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General Assembly
Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

7th Meeting
Tuesday, 27 September 1994, 3 p.m.
New York

President: Mr. Essy . . . . . (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

Address by Mr. Guntis Ulmanis, President of the Republic of Latvia

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Latvia.

Mr. Guntis Ulmanis, President of the Republic of Latvia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Latvia, His Excellency Mr. Guntis Ulmanis, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Ulmanis *(spoke in Latvian; English text furnished by the delegation)*: Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session and to wish you every success in leading this august body. May this session be constructive and productive for you and all delegations.

New geopolitical, economic and technological realities have appeared at the close of the twentieth century. The destructive cold war has come to an end and its symbol - the Berlin Wall - has collapsed. The insuppressible long-held yearnings of many peoples for freedom and independence led in the end to the disintegration of even the seemingly indestructible Soviet empire, clearly reaffirming the lasting strength and integrity of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations - peace, equality and justice. That is why this Organization has always played and will continue to play a role in furthering the progress of nations, as evidenced by its vast undertakings in the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as its efforts to increase the well-being of society and every individual.

Two years ago, the Secretary-General in his report "An Agenda for Peace", comprehensively analysed aspects related to the maintenance of peace and security. This report led to a broad debate on concepts such as preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and post-conflict peace-building. Preventive diplomacy by the United Nations and other organizations undoubtedly furthered the resolution of a very difficult issue for Latvia and all of Europe - the withdrawal of foreign military forces from the territories of the Baltic States.

With satisfaction I should like to report to the General Assembly that, on the whole, General Assembly consensus resolutions 47/21 of 25 November 1992 and 48/18 of 15 November 1993, entitled "Complete withdrawal of foreign military forces from the territories of the Baltic States", have been implemented. The last Russian military units departed Latvia and Estonia at the end of August. Thus, the Second World War has ended for the Baltic States. Our bilateral negotiations with the Russian Federation, which lasted for more than two years, culminated with the signing on 30 April 1994 of agreements the ratification of which has been included in the agenda of the Parliament of Latvia.

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I can state with full conviction that the international calls for the withdrawal of Russian troops, made by the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), amongst others, were pivotal to the successful resolution of this long drawn-out matter.

We believe that this approach may be useful as an example for the resolution of other global issues and we are prepared to share our experience with others.

The United Nations and the CSCE will continue to have an important role in the implementation of the agreements. According to the bilateral agreement between Latvia and Russia on the Skrunda radar facility, any attempt to settle disputes or differences of opinion connected with the agreement by means of military threats or by the use of armed force shall be considered a threat to international peace and security and shall be brought before the United Nations Security Council. For its part, representatives of the CSCE will observe the implementation of the agreements and the fulfilment of the respective parties' obligations.

However, we have yet to exhaust the opportunities for preventive diplomacy in the Baltic region. Baltic regional security continues to be a pressing issue. On his visit to Latvia last summer, Mr. William Clinton, President of the United States of America, stressed that the sovereign and independent Baltic States must not be part of any sphere of influence. It must be noted that President Clinton played a vital role in disentangling problems which had developed during negotiations with the Russian Federation on the withdrawal of its troops from Estonia and Latvia.

I should like to remind the international community that the Russian radar facility will remain in Skrunda for five and a half years, and nuclear reactors will remain in Paldiski, Estonia. Heavy Russian military transit takes place through Lithuania to Kaliningrad, where a high military concentration is maintained. On the whole, these are risk factors which potentially threaten the Baltic States and, in fact, the entire Baltic Sea region. In many respects, Baltic security is a guarantee for peace and stability in Europe. The Baltic States are already considering the possible solutions to this important question, and I hope that the Member States will devote their full attention and interest to these ends.

A significant dialogue between our two countries has concluded with the completion of Russian troop withdrawal from Latvia. Thanks to the support of many countries and international organizations, Latvia today is free from foreign military presence. Nevertheless, without the foresight and the civility displayed by both parties, we could not stand here today and speak of social harmony and tolerance in Latvia, nor could we say that both Latvia and the Russian Federation have one less problem to address. Last spring, when I met with President Yeltsin in Moscow, I gained the conviction that in solving our problem he was guided by good will.

In 1995, Europe and the world will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Allied victory over nazism. Latvians, too, fought against Hitler's occupying forces in the belief that an Allied victory would be followed by the restoration of Latvian independence. However, whilst many nations breathed freely again after the end of the Nazi occupation, the Baltic States were engulfed for the second time by the totalitarian Soviet empire. As other nations celebrated the defeat of nazism, Latvia was subjected to the deportation of hundreds of thousands of innocent persons and the systematic destruction of the Latvian State and national identity. Latvia and its people are the victims of both regimes - nazism and communism.

Justice would prevail if the new democratic Russia, which played a decisive role in the destruction of the "Evil Empire", were to engage with Latvia in the appraisal of the actions taken by the Soviet Union against Latvia in 1940. The signing of truthful bilateral documents would preclude any petty psychological feelings of revenge and would provide amends to the victims of the totalitarian regime in both countries. These "truth" documents would foster even greater harmony between the various nationalities in Latvia and, we believe, lift some of Russia's unenviable inherited burden.

Such cases already exist. The documents signed by the Presidents of Russia and several Central and Eastern European States have marked an end to the legacy of the past, which had also been a burden to Russian society.

We believe that it is impossible to fully comprehend the consequences of the Soviet occupation without an objective analysis of the events of 1939 and 1940. These consequences have been and continue to be felt in Latvia in the areas of political, economic and social development. No other country lost nearly 40 per cent of its native population during the Second World War; in no other post-war European country has the native population become a minority in seven of its largest

cities, including the capital; and no other country has experienced population transfers and mass deportations on such a scale. The Latvian language, too, was under threat of extinction, despite the fact that it had survived for 4,000 years, partly in the form of a unique collection of more than one million folk songs. We wish to protect Latvia's historical and cultural heritage, because Latvians can preserve their national identity only in this small land on the shores of the Baltic Sea. Latvians never have and never will ask for any other land.

I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the necessity for regional cooperation. History has repeatedly shown that geographically and historically close States have forged the deepest relations, thereby enriching and furthering mutual development.

Following the restoration of independence, the Baltic Parliamentary Assembly was formed, and this month work was begun by the Baltic Council of Ministers, which coordinates our policies in foreign affairs, trade, legislation and other matters. In other words, a balanced and active Baltic union has been created. At the same time, an evolutionary process towards an expanded European Union with a dynamic Nordic-Baltic dimension is taking place. The model for regional cooperation in Northern Europe aspired to by Latvia is "three plus five" - three Baltic States and five Nordic States.

Recognizing the important role played by the United Nations in international peace-keeping, Latvia, together with its neighbours, Estonia and Lithuania, has established the Baltic Battalion, which in the future may participate in the peace-keeping operations of the Security Council. The Nordic States, the United Kingdom and the United States have greatly contributed to the establishment of the Baltic Battalion. We believe that the three Baltic States will thereby further the aims shared by the Member States of the largest and most influential of international bodies - the United Nations.

During the cold war the Baltic Sea was a boundary. Nowadays the Baltic Sea unites rather than divides States. Five years ago the "Baltic Way" - a human chain reaching from Tallinn through Riga to Vilnius - symbolized the shared road towards independence and democracy. Today this road has also regained its historical and economic significance in our region. At the turn of the century the Baltic Way will already be an established part of the global information highway.

I wish to reaffirm that Latvia will do its utmost to foster peaceful cooperation and the spirit of understanding, mutual trust and tolerance on the shores of the Baltic Sea.

International peace and security and good-neighbourly relations between States are inextricably linked to economic and social development. The end of the cold war has created new opportunities to devote greater attention to these issues. Last spring the Secretary-General issued a report (A/48/935) entitled "An Agenda for Development". Latvia welcomes this initiative, which marks a historic turning point in the work of the United Nations. From being an international forum primarily serving the interests of individual States, the United Nations is becoming a representative and defender of the needs of humanity. Economic and social development increases the security of every inhabitant of our planet.

We believe that the United Nations and each Member State should recognize the need not only for a coalition for democracy, but also for a fight against organized crime and the trafficking of nuclear materials and narcotics. Without effective solutions to these problems, the security of each inhabitant of our planet and the development of every country and society are endangered. I invite the United Nations to consider organizing a high-level meeting for the solving of those problems.

Many components of the United Nations system, primarily the Development Programme, are concerned with the promotion of economic progress. Therefore, within the framework of the aims of the proposed Agenda for Development, one of the challenges is to simplify, renew and integrate the United Nations system. Latvia is among those countries whose economic, governmental and social structures are undergoing a period of transition. Effective United Nations assistance to these countries would speed this process, allowing them to become donor countries sooner.

The concept of development is very broad. It includes social and economic progress; justice and democracy, as the foundation of society; and the protection of human rights and the environment. Even if the threat of global nuclear war has subsided, the prospect of environmental catastrophe remains. I therefore restate Latvia's proposal, first made at the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit, to host in Latvia before the end of this century a world summit at which participating

States would commit themselves to diverting all resources gained from disarmament towards long-term development, especially for the protection of the environment and reversal of ecological damage caused by military activity. This conference could take place in Jurmala, on the shores of the Baltic Sea.

Latvia attaches great importance to international conferences organized by the United Nations. As a member of the Bureau of the Preparatory Committee, Latvia has become actively involved in the preparation for the World Social Summit. Furthermore, Latvia is one of the few States whose head of delegation is also a Vice-President of the Conference.

Each global conference is an opportunity for every participating State to review and compare the sum of its experience. The issue of implementing the adopted resolutions at both the national and international levels is yet to be fully addressed. I would like to inform the Assembly of the extent of Latvia's adherence to the recommendations adopted at the World Conference on Human Rights. In its Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action the Conference invited States to establish and strengthen national institutions for the protection of human rights. The Conference recommended that each State consider the desirability of drawing up a national action plan identifying steps whereby that State would improve the promotion and protection of human rights.

Latvia demonstrated its commitment to United Nations principles and its readiness to implement the recommendations of the Conference by establishing in March 1994 the post of State Minister for Human Rights, as well as forming a Government Working Group on the Protection of the Rights of Individuals, allocating the necessary resources towards these ends. We believe that the United Nations should devote a greater percentage of its regular budget to the promotion and protection of human rights.

In response to a request by the Working Group, a high-level international mission organized by the United Nations Development Programme visited Latvia in July this year. The mission, which included representatives of several international organizations, including CSCE and the Council of Europe, consulted Latvia on the development of a national programme for the protection and promotion of human rights. At Latvia's invitation, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights will visit Latvia in October this year.

I am proud that Latvia is one of the first countries to have demonstrated an awareness of its responsibility by establishing a national programme for the protection and promotion of human rights. Latvia is prepared to discuss and share its knowledge and experience with all interested parties.

We support the proposal made to the General Assembly by Mr. Boris Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation, that the principles of the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities be embodied in the legislation of all Member States. At the World Conference on Human Rights Latvia called for the establishment of standards and implementation mechanisms for the rights of minorities and foreigners.

Those activities in the sphere of human rights are grounded in history. Prior to the Second World War, as a member of the League of Nations, Latvia fostered harmonious inter-ethnic relations. We are now trying to renew and cultivate this great tradition. Immediately after the restoration of its independence Latvia declared its accession to all the principal international human rights instruments. As I have already mentioned, a major effort is being made in the establishment of a national programme for the promotion and protection of the human rights of the individual in order that every individual be guaranteed equal rights and an equal opportunity to defend these rights. I believe that the concept of equal opportunity not only characterizes the fundamental rights of the individual, but is also a prerequisite for development.

Latvia has always been open to cooperation with the United Nations, the CSCE and other international organizations. Latvia reaffirmed this when it passed its Citizenship Law. In promulgating this legislation, it followed the recommendations of the CSCE and the Council of Europe, and the passing of the law has been evaluated positively by these organizations.

The need for rationalizing and revitalizing the work of the United Nations is becoming ever more apparent. Latvia is actively participating in the search for optimal solutions. Latvia supports the enlargement of the Security Council, perceiving this as a fair opportunity for small nations to increase their role in important international decision-making. Latvia also supports the improvement of cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and other international organizations,

including the CSCE, the European Union and the Council of Europe.

We also welcome and support the action taken by the Secretary-General to introduce a new, effective system of accountability and responsibility, and, pursuant to the United States initiative, to establish the Office of Internal Oversight Services.

Latvia supports especially the initiative to reform the calculation of United Nations assessments, based strictly on the principle of "capacity to pay". This would be a step towards improving the dire financial situation of the Organization and would pave the way for a fair solution to the issue of the assessments of Latvia and many other States.

Although the inescapable difficulties associated with a transition period can still be felt in our economy and social sector, Latvia is endeavouring to fulfil its international obligations and commitments. However, contrary to standard United Nations practice, the current assessment of Latvia has been calculated without taking into account its actual capacity to pay. Instead, the data of a non-existent country - the former Soviet Union - has been used to determine Latvia's assessment. Latvia has consistently and unwaveringly stated that it was forcibly incorporated into the former Soviet Union and therefore is not, and cannot ever be, its successor, with all the rights and obligations that this would entail. This was also stated in a letter to the Secretary-General in 1992.

Latvia expects that the General Assembly will address this issue in the course of this session on the basis of the principle of sovereign equality.

We consider that the same importance should be accorded to the United Nations principle of universality.

Next year, the world will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Latvia, too, has begun preparations for this great anniversary. We hope that the Riga Dom Boys Choir will sing at the celebration concert to be held here in New York. This would be deeply symbolic, since future generations will shape the fate of nations. In many ways their fate will be decided by the heritage we leave to our children. We must do our utmost to draw closer to the age when nations will not fight against nations, but all will join forces in the battle against darkness. This sentiment, which has been drawn deep from the well of our national wisdom, seems to embody the essence of the United Nations now and in the future.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Latvia for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Guntis Ulmanis, President of the Republic of Latvia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, His Excellency Mr. Alija Izetbegović, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Izetbegović: Allow me, at the outset, to commend Mr. Samuel Insanally for the able manner in which he conducted the work of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

I would also like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of this, the forty-ninth session. I wish you success in pursuing this very important task.

I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on behalf of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina at this distinguished gathering.

I come from Bosnia and Herzegovina, a far-away country that has currently been the subject of many discussions.

Unfortunately, I have to begin my statement by repeating facts that, for most of you, may be or should be well known.

At the time - some three years ago - when Yugoslavia experienced its dissolution, we were doing our best to carry out the separation in a peaceful fashion and without any violence. For reasons already known, our initiatives did not bear fruit.

When Slovenia and Croatia seceded, and the dissolution of Yugoslavia had become inevitable, we organized a referendum in order to decide, in a democratic manner, the fate of Bosnia. By a two-thirds majority - exactly 64.4 per cent of the body of registered voters, citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, opted for the country's independence in the referendum of 1 March 1992. International recognition of our country followed soon thereafter, and so did the aggression against it. The decision on its recognition was made on 5 April 1992 and was announced the following day, 6 April 1992. The Serbian and Montenegrin aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina began on 5 April 1992, the very day when the decision on recognition of the country was adopted.

The aggression has continued to this day with more or, at times, less intensity, and without any prospect of its coming to an end in the near future.

The war that was forced upon Bosnia and Herzegovina and its peoples - and that has now entered its thirty-first month - is one of the bloodiest wars in the history of mankind. At the very beginning, it was not a war but rather an attack by a well-armed and equipped army, the former Yugoslav army, against defenceless citizens.

The results of this uneven struggle are as follows: 70 per cent of our country came under occupation in the first months of the war; more than 200,000 civilians have been killed; over 1 million - or one fourth - of our inhabitants have been expelled from their homes; hundreds of cities and villages have been destroyed and burned. This cannot be described as a classic example of warfare between two armies. This has been a war of an army against civilians, followed by genocide and, to date, unprecedented destruction of cultural and religious objects.

The world has not responded in an appropriate manner to such barbarity.

Whether it was because of the brutality of the attack, or because it was morally and psychologically unprepared, or perhaps because of its entanglement in its conflicting interests, the world seemed confused and hesitant.

When the news and pictures of new concentration camps in the heart of Europe came out, the public was astonished or shocked, but for the most part those responsible kept silent. Tens of thousands have perished in those camps and many thousands have disappeared without a trace. The more brutal an attack, the more hesitant the world became. The free world neither defended nor supported freedom. Our people, facing the threat of extermination and a clearly pronounced death sentence, decided to defend itself.

But then it encountered a new absurdity. It found its hands tied. In short, before the war broke out against Bosnia and Herzegovina the United Nations imposed a notorious resolution that banned any import of weapons into the territory of former Yugoslavia. Everything changed: the war began, the aggressor and the victim were clearly discernable, but the arms embargo has remained in place as if nothing had happened in the interim. Justice was turned into injustice because the aggressor had weapons - weapons that had been stockpiled over the course of 40 years - while the victim was unarmed and its hands were kept tied.

The resolution on the arms embargo became its own contradiction. By maintaining the imbalance in weaponry, it has prolonged the war and turned the peace negotiations into diktat by the better-armed aggressor.

We said to the world, "You do not have to come to defend us, but do at least untie our hands and allow us to defend ourselves. While they kill our children, rape our women and destroy all our relics, do recognize our right to self-defence."

So far, however, the arms embargo has remained in place. With only guns and rifles in their hands, our defenders have faced artillery and tanks. We have lost many people, and reports indicate that more than 90 per cent of them have been killed by grenades and artillery shells. Our cities and villages have been left at the mercy of the powerful military technology in the hands of the murderers. In the capital city of Sarajevo alone, more than 10,000 people have been killed and more than 50,000 wounded. Not a single family is without casualties, either killed or wounded.

To all this, the world has sent us one message: negotiate. In the belief that the only right path was to continue to defend our land and that in this just struggle the peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples of the world

would support us, we refused for a very long time to negotiate with war criminals.

Finally, faced with the unbearable plight of our people and the world's indifference, without any choice we accepted negotiations. It turned out that the aggressor had only been using negotiations as a way to bargain for time and to cover up its continuation of the aggression. In March 1993, after long and painful negotiations and with many concessions from our side, we signed the so-called Vance-Owen plan. The aggressor rejected it.

The next bloody round in the war ensued, to be followed by another round of negotiations that resulted, on 5 July 1994, in a peace plan drawn up by the Contact Group consisting of five great Powers: the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and the Russian Federation. Again, we chose peace and the attackers, once again, opted for a continuation of the war.

We accepted the unjust peace offer in order to halt the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We did so in the hope that the injustice of the peace plan could still be corrected in the years of peace. Knowing the Bosnian soul, we believed - and we still believe - that peace can save - but that war will destroy - all that we call Bosnia.

What we call "Bosnia" is not merely a small piece of land in the Balkans. For many of us, Bosnia and Herzegovina is not only a homeland: it is an idea; it is a belief that peoples of different religions, different nationalities and different cultural traditions can live together. Were this dream to be forever buried, were this idea of tolerance among the peoples of the area to be irretrievably lost, the guilt would lie not only with those who have been relentlessly killing Bosnia with their mortars for over 30 months now but also with many of the powerful elsewhere in the world who could have helped yet have chosen to do otherwise.

Two days ago, I left Sarajevo. I did not leave by plane because the airport was closed. I had to take land routes through woods that are constantly exposed to fire and where many people are killed daily. For days there is no electricity, water and gas in the city. The capital is completely blocked and is virtually dying.

Yesterday, after I had arrived at United Nations Headquarters, I received a letter from Srebrenica, a small town on the river Drina. The letter was supposed to be a report, but it was also a cry from a real human hell. I could not find the strength to read it a second time.

Over three months ago "ethnic cleansing" was reignited, and there is now a new wave. Thousands of civilians whose only fault is that they are not Serbs have been expelled from their homes in Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Janja and other towns under the control of Karadzic's army. Once again, nothing has been done. The world seems to have grown gradually accustomed to unpunished violations of the basic norms of international law. This is a sorry situation, and one that concerns every man and every woman in the world, no matter how near or far from Bosnia they may be.

For a very long time I rejected - indeed, I still reject - any so-called conspiracy theory, the theory that all that has happened to Bosnia has happened because its majority nation is Muslim and there are dark powers that consciously impel the Serbs towards the extermination of Bosnian Muslims.

Those who support this theory have their arguments, and I believe they have been heard here before. They maintain that overt aggression, followed by genocide, concentration camps and other forms of the darkest fascism, is at work in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that the world must be blind not to see it. Is the world blind? Does it consciously condone all these evils? It cannot be blind, and there is thus only the other alternative. This is the argument that has gained an increasing number of supporters. It will not be a good thing if the world's billion Muslims come to accept it.

The latest events surrounding the plan of the Contact Group have given the supporters of the so-called conspiracy theory an additional argument, namely, that Bosnia and Herzegovina has been offered a proposal backed by five major Powers and, therefore, by the majority of the international community, and it has been clearly stated that the side that rejected the plan would be punished while the side that accepted it would be protected. Yet the opposite has happened. The Serbs rejected the plan, and they have been rewarded by the suspension of sanctions. We have accepted the plan, and we have been punished by a complete blockade of Sarajevo. Both processes have occurred simultaneously, in parallel.

Today, the highest civilian and military United Nations authorities are warning us: If you demand and succeed in achieving the lifting of the arms embargo, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) will pull out of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and so on.

I have certainly not undertaken this long and arduous journey from Bosnia to America solely to convey facts that may be known to the majority of those here. We in Bosnia believe that, despite the hardships, good and justice cannot be defeated. We do not abandon our faith that the world can be better and that we should all work and strive continually to make it better.

In this conviction, and despite all our disappointments and frustrations, I have come to speak here before the Assembly and to present some of our proposals. From the General Assembly and the Security Council, we are asking the following: first, that all resolutions on Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly be implemented; secondly, that measures be taken effectively to monitor the border between Serbia and Montenegro, on the one side, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the other, so that any transport of troops, weapons and military equipment across that border may be prevented or detected in timely fashion; thirdly, that should this transport occur, the decision on the suspension of some of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro - Security Council resolution 943 (1994) - be immediately revoked and that tightened sanction measures be imposed in accordance with the plan of the Contact Group of July 1994; fourthly, that there be no further easing of the sanctions towards Serbia and Montenegro until they recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia within internationally recognized borders; fifthly, that a resolution be adopted, without delay, to strengthen the protection and mandate the extension of the safe areas provided for in Security Council resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993), and in accordance with provisions of Article 6 of the Contact Group plan; and, sixthly, that decisions be taken to ensure an immediate end to the strangulation of Sarajevo and to prevent a recurrence of such a situation.

The last-mentioned of these measures should envisage, as an integral element, the opening of the city along the north communication route - road and highway - through the creation of a demilitarized belt 2.5 kilometres wide on both sides of the thoroughfares. In this demilitarized belt, only United Nations troops and police might remain. The potential use of force against the strangulation of Sarajevo is envisaged under Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's decision of 9 February 1994.

Provided that the above conditions were fulfilled, and on condition that UNPROFOR continued to carry out its mission, the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be willing to accept a new, modified formula to deal with the problem of the arms embargo. Under this formula we would limit our demand for the lifting of the arms embargo to the adoption of a formal decision, and the application or consequences of that decision would be deferred for six months. In this case UNPROFOR troops could remain in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Contact Group would fulfil its promise, and a clear message would be conveyed to Karadzic's Serbs.

I should like, in conclusion, to state our two commitments.

First, our irrevocable objective is a democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina within internationally recognized borders, and with full ethnic, religious and political rights for all its citizens. In such a Bosnia and Herzegovina the Serbs will have all rights, up to the highest level of autonomy, but they cannot have a state within a state.

Secondly, we consider that, like all other nations, we have an inalienable right to self-defence. Therefore, if our compromise proposal on the arms embargo is rejected for any reason, we shall ask our friends to secure the immediate, and even unilateral, lifting of the embargo. Unfortunately, I have to inform representatives that, just today, I learned that this compromise proposal is meeting resistance, and even rejection, from some Contact Group countries.

Finally, I take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to all friends of Bosnia and Herzegovina who have supported its struggle for survival and freedom.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Agenda item 9 *(continued)*

General debate

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I call on the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium, His Excellency Mr. Willy Claes.

Mr. Claes (Belgium) *(interpretation from French)*: It is with great pleasure that I join the previous speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of this Assembly. The great African country that you represent, Côte d'Ivoire, has always played an active and constructive role in our Organization. We are delighted to have you presiding over our proceedings.

My German ministerial colleague, Mr. Klaus Kinkel, spoke this morning on behalf of the European Union. The views of my delegation are faithfully reflected in his statement and, consequently, there is no need for me to address the positions he has outlined.

Five years ago the talk was of a new international order. The events that shook Eastern Europe at that time led us to believe that the old bipolar world had expired and that another order was bound to take its place. For some, the reaction to the aggression against Kuwait marked the beginning of this new phase. Reality did not live up to our hopes. Today we have come to understand that the equilibrium based on a bipolar world did not have a "natural successor" and that it is up to us to build a new one, little by little, through trial and error.

Of course, a new equilibrium is emerging in several parts of the world.

First, there is the highly symbolic case of the Middle East. Even if implementation of the Washington and Cairo agreements is proving as arduous as was expected, every new stage constitutes an important step towards lasting peace. The historic rapprochement between Israel and Jordan strengthens this prospect.

Mr. Seniloli (Fiji), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The new South Africa, too, is facing immense challenges, but at the same time it has become a beacon of hope for the entire African continent.

The strengthening of democracy and the progress made in regional integration in Latin America seem to us yet another meaningful evolution. A number of countries in this region have now found the way towards sustainable economic development.

The same holds true for Asia, where, moreover, a readiness for dialogue now exists. The regional Forum launched by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), contacts on the Korean peninsula and, at another level, the dialogue between the two sides of the Formosa Strait all contribute towards a new climate of confidence.

While preparing to welcome four new members, the European Union has signed cooperation agreements with the majority of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe that might ultimately lead to full membership. Simultaneously, new geostrategic ties are being forged with Russia.

The same will for dialogue is reflected in the discussion of major issues that concern the future of our Organization, such as reform of the Security Council. Even if divergences of opinion remain on various points, the sense of common interest prevails.

Belgium's major concern remains the achievement of a more representative Council without diminishing its decision-making capacity. We prefer therefore to avoid ambitious projects that would give privileged status to several "regional Powers" according to imprecise criteria but would not reinforce the Council's ability to shoulder its responsibilities.

Why not, as a first step, adapt the Council's membership on the basis of unanimously agreed criteria? The international community could, as a measure with immediate advantageous effect, grant an additional non-permanent seat to the regions that consider themselves to be underrepresented and confer permanent member status on those two economic Powers whose positive contribution to world affairs has long been recognized.

These steps, however encouraging, do not by themselves constitute a new international agreement. Progress and the readiness for rapprochement are by no means universal: Central Africa and Bosnia and Herzegovina are cases in point.

The situation in Rwanda is uppermost in our minds. The threat it represents of destabilization in Burundi and the neighbouring countries has become a constant cause for worry in recent months. However deep the hatred born of the recent or the distant past, reconciliation is the only alternative. We appeal to the leaders and prominent citizens of these countries to unite their efforts to broaden the base of political power and to stand firm against extremists. Only when these conditions are met can emergency aid make way for durable reconstruction. Naturally, my country will contribute to each stage of this renewal.

The civil war in the former Yugoslavia has cast first Europe and then the entire world into profound disarray. Yet for more than three years now, we have been working relentlessly to put an end to this tragedy. The United Nations Protection Force has become one of the largest peace-keeping missions ever set up by our Organization. The United Nations and the European Union have worked together tirelessly to find a negotiated solution. The main Powers have now added their weight to these efforts. Let us hope that the latest attempt by the European Union, the United States and the Russian Federation will finally succeed in halting the bloodshed. From this rostrum I call upon the parties to seize this opportunity: put an end to madness and let peace return.

I have just touched upon two cases of civil war where racial hatred has led to particularly inhumane behaviour. More than ever, we must remain unyielding when human rights are systematically violated. We must aim to banish every regime that is based on practices of "ethnic cleansing".

So that this lesson may never be forgotten, Belgium favours the establishment of an international penal jurisdiction and expresses the wish that the international community do whatever is necessary to render it operational as soon as possible. In the meantime, we believe that the Tribunal created to judge the war crimes perpetrated in the former Yugoslavia will stand as a valuable precedent, which we would like to see extended to the crimes committed in Rwanda as soon as possible.

Along the same lines, my Government welcomes the appointment of a High Commissioner for Human Rights. The operational initiatives launched by Mr. Ayala Lasso - sending human rights monitors to Rwanda, for instance - have received early and concrete support from Belgium, among others. I am convinced that Mr. Ayala Lasso's actions will strengthen the respect for human rights and promote a successful dialogue among political leaders and human rights activists in every part of the world. This dialogue will take into account the differing approaches inspired by various cultures and religions, but in my opinion, it would lose its meaning if it were to compromise on the one essential point: the respect owed to the physical and moral integrity of every human being.

For Belgium, the crisis in Rwanda has marked the international agenda. In the wake of the genocide, death lashed out blindly at a population in exile, pushing back the limits of horror already reached in Bosnia and Somalia. My fellow citizens were deeply troubled by the ruin of so many efforts of development, the failure of so many attempts at reconciliation. The savage killing of 10 Belgian "blue helmets", who were among the 100 United Nations peace-keepers slain since the beginning of this year, highlights the unmistakable fragility of peace-keeping operations. I believe the best way to honour all those who lost their lives is by reflecting in particular upon the limits and possibilities of international action.

In this regard, the common experience in which Belgium took part - in the former Yugoslavia, in Somalia and in Rwanda - has enabled us, sometimes in tragic circumstances, to make a number of observations for future use. I intend to group them around four principles that seem to me essential. First: peace-keeping operations cannot be improvised. Second: once decided, they should be given the means to achieve their aims. Third: for these means to function fully, we should ensure their operational and political coherence. And, finally, as long as the security of the personnel involved cannot be guaranteed, it will become increasingly difficult to find troop contributors for peace-keeping missions, which will thereby reduce them to a purely theoretical instrument.

First, the principle of "non-improvisation" implies two things.

The first is that the Organization must at all times be able to mobilize the necessary means for a peace-keeping operation and to this end rely on the solidarity of all its members. This means that it is essential to reinforce the military peace-keeping capacity of the Organization. In the absence of a United Nations multilateral force that can be deployed quickly, generalized offers of stand-by troops and equipment and standardization of equipment and procedures are objectives we must pursue diligently. To this end I have sent the Secretary-General a list of possible Belgian contributions which could be made available for peace-keeping operations.

The second implication is that, even though solidarity remains the basis for conceiving and implementing peace-keeping, this solidarity cannot be blind and automatic. Each specific operation must be the result of careful consideration.

The launching of a new peace-keeping operation should only be envisaged and seriously considered when all other means of solving the crisis have been exhausted, including at the regional level. Chapter VI, as well as

"An Agenda for Peace", offer a wide choice of instruments for solving a crisis through negotiation, arbitration, and so on. Those who forget that peace-keeping operations are not a panacea do the Organization a disservice and often unwittingly contribute to making situations worse rather than solving them.

Once it has been decided by the Security Council, a peace-keeping operation becomes everybody's business. All Member States must contribute according to their possibilities and as circumstances dictate. Of course, Member States must retain the sovereign right to decide whether or not to participate in a given peace-keeping operation, but in so doing, they should look beyond the criterion of national interest.

All States should cooperate actively with a view to the success of the operation by facilitating its movements, supplies, reinforcements and the prepositioning of reserve troops. All States should use their diplomatic influence to help the Secretary-General achieve the political objectives of an operation. And, finally, all States must adhere to their financial obligations with respect to an operation.

Secondly, a peace-keeping operation must be based on the consent of the parties, appropriate flexibility and adequate information.

Every operation must be based on consensus among the States legitimately involved. The conflicting parties themselves must agree to the deployment and aims of the operation, except in the case of an obvious humanitarian catastrophe. In this all-too-frequent case, the Security Council's decision to act outside the framework of the traditional mandate and disregard the three usual conditions - in other words, agreement by the parties, the political process and a cease-fire - must be taken with great care The Council must express this decision clearly in the mandate and accept all its consequences.

An operation must at all times have the strength necessary to execute its mission safely. This rule is of utmost importance. It implies, to begin with, sufficient manpower and flexible rules of engagement to respond to the unexpected. It also implies adequate equipment to fulfil the mandate and to react to emergencies. The deployment of a military reserve in the vicinity has already proven its usefulness, for example, in Somalia. It is a precautionary measure we should envisage more often in the future. As a rule, a force subject to local provocation must always have the choice between evacuating or remaining in place, between retreat or riposte.

But the use of force is not the first option to be considered in order to discourage resistance to a peace-keeping operation. Education and persuasion will do miracles among populations that are often ill-informed or even misguided about the objectives of a peace-keeping operation. Experience has shown that it is absolutely necessary to develop a coherent information strategy. Each peace-keeping operation should be provided with an information unit and a radio transmitter to broadcast its message. Moreover, the ability to neutralize hostile propaganda sources should be put to use each time this propaganda threatens the safety of part of a population or United Nations personnel.

The third consideration is that the cohesion of the command and control structures and consultations on a regular basis with troop-contributing countries are conditions essential to the success of an operation.

The military and political control of an operation must rest with the United Nations or with a duly mandated body. This principle has two consequences.

Any attempt by the Commander of the Force or of a small contingent to report directly only to national authorities will reduce the cohesion of the multilateral operation. The flexibility required by a commander in the field to deal with the unexpected, however, is a different matter.

When an action is undertaken by a regional or multilateral force it must be authorized by the Security Council. However, this authorization should not reduce the operational autonomy of the commanders of such an operation. Those who take the risk must be in control.

Moreover, for each operation a consultation committee should be created in which troop contributors, the members of the Security Council and the Secretariat can meet at regular intervals. This committee will enable the contributors better to assist the Secretariat in managing the operation.

It will also generate a real dialogue between contributors and the members of the Council, each time the latter prepare to take a decision which modifies the basic conditions of the operation. Contributors often have a better knowledge of the situation in the field and are best placed to judge whether a new task is feasible or acceptable. Without troop contributors the resolutions of the Council would remain ineffectual.

As a fourth and last consideration, the security of the blue helmets is as much a concern of the contributing countries as of the Secretariat. The prosecution of those who attack the peace-keeping forces must be efficiently organized.

The responsibility of a Government for its contingent does not stop with its dispatch to the field of operations. The contributing country has the right to watch over the safety of its compatriots at all times. Ultimately, security must be the decisive factor for a contributing country to continue or suspend its participation in a peace-keeping operation.

It seems normal, therefore, that a troop contributor should be entitled to equip its contingent from the start with sufficient defensive armament. Later, when unexpected circumstances place the contingent in a situation of real danger, the Security Council and the Secretary-General must immediately adapt the mandate and, if necessary, the rules of engagement to that situation.

It is a fundamental duty of the United Nations to organize the international prosecution of those who attack United Nations personnel. The impunity granted so far to the perpetrators of such crimes gives rise to an uneasy feeling and undermines the credibility of the United Nations in the eyes of world opinion. The authority of our Organization over those whom it is trying to reconcile is negatively affected by this, and the Governments that contribute troops are increasingly worried. In our opinion, it is essential to speed up the adoption of a convention on the security of United Nations personnel, as well as of the investigations and the effective prosecution of those who attack our personnel.

I hope that these thoughts that I have shared with the Assembly will contribute to improving the procedures and reinforcing the means put into effect by our Organization to face up to the new situations that it needs to tackle. In fact, these changes deserve to be formalized when any revision of the Charter takes place. The functioning of the peace-keeping operations would be greatly improved by this.

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote:

> "Amongst the laws that govern human societies, there is one that seems clearer and more precise than all others. If men are to remain civilized, or become so, the art of association must grow and improve at the same rate as the equality of their conditions".

Though this "art of association" affects civil societies in the first place, it is also, and more than ever, a concern of our society of Governments. Launching peace-keeping operations is without doubt a most generous expression of this art of acting together.

In the meantime, the fact that we have been able to multiply peace-keeping operations in difficult political, financial and material circumstances is nothing short of miraculous and prompts us to pay tribute to all the people who have been working tirelessly within the Secretariat as well as in the field.

The President: I now call on the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, Mr. Yohei Kono.

Mr. Kono (Japan) *(spoke in Japanese; English text furnished by the delegation)*: Allow me to begin my address by offering my congratulations to Mr. Amara Essy on the assumption of his new office. I should also like to express my respect for the excellent diplomatic skills demonstrated by his predecessor, Ambassador Insanally, during a period of momentous change. I am also pleased to convey my sincere congratulations to the Republic of South Africa, which, having renounced apartheid, was reinstated as a full Member of the United Nations at the previous session of the General Assembly.

The United Nations is now expected to play a greater role than ever before. Recalling the blessings bestowed upon Japan by the international community at the time of its admission into this Organization, I intend to conduct a proactive foreign policy that will enable Japan to contribute, on a level commensurate with its political and economic status, to the future well-being of humankind.

At the outset, I should like to discuss Japan's basic philosophy regarding its international contributions. Japan is engaged in economic assistance and various other efforts in order to eradicate poverty and achieve economic development, as well as to prevent conflicts and remove destabilizing factors.

Reflecting with remorse upon the Second World War, Japan has never wavered from its commitment to contribute to world peace and prosperity. Japan does not, nor will it, resort to the use of force, prohibited by its Constitution. Japan will remain resolutely a nation of peace. Neither possessing nuclear arms nor exporting weapons, Japan continues to be actively engaged in

disarmament and non-proliferation efforts. In accordance with what I have just stated, Japan has dispatched members of its Self-Defence Forces, as well as civilian personnel, to several countries, including Cambodia and Mozambique, in response to requests by the United Nations. Japan intends to continue to cooperate actively in such United Nations peace-keeping operations.

At the same time, Japan is determined to enhance its contributions to efforts on global issues in economic and social areas. These issues, whose importance is now widely recognized, include development, the environment, human rights, refugees, population, AIDS and narcotics.

Today, the first area on which the United Nations should focus its efforts is the maintenance of international peace and security; the second is the resolution of economic and social problems. And if it is to carry out these two very important tasks effectively, it must undertake a third: the promotion of United Nations reform. I should like on this occasion to outline my views as to the kind of contributions Japan wishes to make in these areas.

In the maintenance of international peace and security, which is the first area of concern to the United Nations, Japan places great emphasis on disarmament and non-proliferation, diplomatic efforts for the resolution of conflicts, and peace-keeping operations.

As the only country to have suffered a nuclear attack, and adhering firmly to its three non-nuclear principles, Japan strives to achieve the ultimate goal of eliminating all nuclear weapons. Toward this end, it urges all nuclear-weapon States to redouble their efforts to reduce their nuclear arsenals. Further, Japan supports the indefinite extension of the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty, and calls on all States that have not yet acceded to the Treaty to do so at the earliest opportunity.

At the same time, I would urge, in particular, all nuclear-weapon States to engage more actively in the negotiations on a comprehensive test-ban treaty and to strive to bring them to an early and successful conclusion. I wish to propose that, once the negotiations on the treaty are concluded, a ceremony for its signing by Heads of State or Government be held in Japan, for example in the city of Hiroshima, and that it be made a new starting-point for the elimination of nuclear weapons once and for all.

In this connection, Japan strongly calls upon North Korea to engage seriously in efforts to resolve the issue of its development of nuclear weapons through international dialogue, including its talks with the United States.

The unfettered transfer and excessive accumulation of conventional weapons is another destabilizing factor in many regions of the world today. In the civil wars we have witnessed in certain regions of Africa and elsewhere, for example, it has resulted in the escalation of combat and in enormous loss of life. It is my belief that the international community must seriously consider concrete measures to solve this problem.

In this regard, the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, designed to improve the transparency of arms transfers, has grown increasingly important as an effective measure for building confidence at the global level. More than 80 countries participate in the Register at present, and we strongly hope that many more will join. Japan will work together with other Member States to amplify and strengthen the Register by, for example, also including arms stockpiles in it.

The prevention and settlement of regional conflicts requires a comprehensive approach which combines diplomatic efforts, United Nations peace-keeping operations, humanitarian aid, assistance for building social institutions, and aid for peace-building, such as rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance.

Convinced of the importance of taking measures before conflicts become intractable, I am a strong advocate of the vigorous promotion of preventive diplomacy. From this viewpoint, I believe we should, in cooperation with the countries concerned, actively consider extending assistance for the stabilization of social and political conditions in regions or countries where there are elements of instability.

United Nations peace-keeping operations have proved successful in Cambodia and many other regions, and they are expected to play an increasingly important role. Further improvement of the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations will require closer examination of, *inter alia*, their mandates, duration, scale of activities and cost, as well as full consideration of the safety of personnel. Strengthening the financial base of United Nations peace-keeping operations is an urgent task. It is necessary, in particular, that Member States that are in arrears pay their assessed contributions. It is also imperative that ways be sought to put peace-keeping operations on a sounder financial basis.

Japan, for its part, will enhance its support for democratization with a view to helping peace take root after the fighting has ceased. It places particular importance on assisting efforts to hold free and fair elections.

Responding to the unspeakably tragic situation of the Rwandan refugees, Japan has provided both financial assistance and material support through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda. The Government of Japan has decided to dispatch more than 400 members of its self-defence forces to the region to provide assistance in such areas as medical treatment, water supply and air transport. Some of these activities have already commenced. Working together with the international community - particularly with the countries of Africa - Japan is determined to continue its efforts toward a solution of the Rwandan issue.

With regard to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, Japan continues to support the efforts of the international community to restore peace. It calls upon all the disputing parties concerned to accept the peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina devised by the Contact Group and to cooperate with the activities of the United Nations there.

The second task of the United Nations is the solution of problems in economic and social areas, including those regarding development, the environment and human rights.

With the changing international circumstances, the issue of development is now re-emerging as a global concern; a new strategy for development is thus called for. It is from this viewpoint that Japan has been advocating a development strategy that entails a comprehensive approach, combining assistance, trade, investment, and the transfer of technology, as well as a differentiated approach, tailored to the needs of developing countries according to their respective stages of development.

The International Conference on African Development, held in Tokyo last year, proved to be a worthwhile forum for the discussion of how such a development strategy might be realized. In an effort to build upon the results of that Conference, an Asia-Africa seminar will be convened in Indonesia this December.

In today's world, South-South cooperation, where more advanced developing countries share their experience and technology with other developing countries, is of increasing significance. Japan intends to suggest concrete plans for the promotion of South-South cooperation around the globe.

Moreover, as the world's largest donor country, Japan continues its efforts to expand its official development assistance. In extending such assistance, it gives full consideration to such factors as trends in the recipient country's military expenditures and in its development and production of weapons of mass destruction, as well as its efforts to promote democracy and to introduce a market-oriented economy.

It is my hope that meaningful discussions of an Agenda for Development will take place at the current session of the General Assembly and that the points I have just mentioned will be taken into account.

At this time of increasing global interdependence, all humankind is confronted with new challenges, such as environmental and population problems, which can be overcome only through close cooperative efforts between industrialized and developing countries.

Japan, for its part, is actively engaged in environmental- protection efforts. For example, it is working to strengthen the international framework for such efforts, to transfer relevant technologies to developing countries, and to expand and strengthen its official development assistance in environmental areas. With regard to population and AIDS, in February of this year Japan launched its Global Issues Initiative, under which it is greatly expanding assistance to developing countries to address these problems. At the International Conference on Population and Development, recently convened in Cairo, I stressed the importance of finding a solution to issues relating to population.

Japan is profoundly aware that human-resources development and the further advancement of the status of women, achieved through international cooperation, have important implications for social stability. We therefore eagerly anticipate the successful outcome of the World Summit for Social Development and the Fourth World Conference on Women, which will be convened next year. By the same token, Japan actively participates in the Women-in-Development programmes and other social-development activities administered by the various United Nations agencies.

Economic development and human rights may be likened to the front and rear wheels of a vehicle: they must work in tandem to advance the development of

democratic societies. In order to encourage respect for human rights as universal values and to improve effectively the human rights situation in every country, it is important to make continuous efforts to establish legal systems and to raise awareness of human rights, in addition to promoting political, economic and social stability. Toward this end, Japan will cooperate in every way possible to assist the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

If it is to carry out effectively its two major tasks - maintaining international peace and security and resolving economic and social problems - the United Nations must make a serious effort to adapt to the new era by undertaking structural reform as well as administrative and budgetary reform.

As the United Nations seeks to strengthen its activities through reform, the restructuring of the Security Council is of particular importance. Today the activities of the Security Council span a wide range of issues relating to world peace and stability. While the membership of the United Nations has grown from 51 countries in 1945 to 184 countries at the present time, the composition of the Council, which was intended to reflect the world situation as it existed when the United Nations was established, has remained virtually unchanged. In the interim, we have witnessed the emergence of countries that are capable of shouldering greater international responsibilities. It is therefore necessary to restructure and strengthen the Security Council, while ensuring its efficiency, so that it may reflect world realities.

In keeping with Japan's basic philosophy regarding international contributions, which I outlined earlier, I wish to state that Japan is prepared, with the endorsement of many countries, to discharge its responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council. It is my hope that United Nations Member States will accelerate the deliberations on this subject during the current session and that an agreement will be reached on a reform plan in time for the commemorative fiftieth session of the General Assembly next year.

The Security Council is not the only organ requiring reform. The General Assembly, in which 184 States participate, also needs to be reinvigorated, and it must coordinate its activities more closely with those of other United Nations agencies. Recently, efforts have begun to fine-tune United Nations activities in economic and social fields, such as development, the environment and human rights, and to establish clear priorities among them. In addressing these issues, which have profound implications for the future of humankind, it is necessary to continue to work towards the functional and organizational strengthening of the Economic and Social Council. The Trusteeship Council, by contrast, has completed its historic mission, and it is my view that it would be appropriate, in the context of the reform of the United Nations as a whole, to consider its abolishment. Building on the creation of the Office of Internal Oversight Services at the last session of the General Assembly, we must redouble our efforts to promote administrative and budgetary reform.

The passage of a half century since the signing of the United Nations Charter has rendered the so-called "former enemy clauses" meaningless. Japan continues to seek their deletion from the text of the Charter.

I have focused my remarks today on the three challenges facing the United Nations: the maintenance of international peace and security, the resolution of economic and social issues and the need for the reform of the Organization. If the United Nations pursues reform to meet the changing needs of the times and supports and expands cooperation among its Member States, I have every confidence that it will enhance its legitimacy as a universal organization and develop a capacity to respond to new challenges even more effectively.

In closing, I would like to call upon all Member States to cooperate to ensure that this will be remembered as the historic session of the General Assembly that ushered in a new era for the United Nations.

The President: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal, His Excellency Mr. José Manuel Durão Barroso.

Mr. Durão Barroso (Portugal) *(spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation)*: It is with pleasure that I warmly congratulate Mr. Amara Essy on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. In his election I see a recognition of the role that Côte d'Ivoire, a friendly African country, has played on the international scene as well as an appreciation of his personal qualities and experience.

A word of recognition is also in order for the outgoing President, Ambassador Samuel Insanally, for his

dedicated and positive service during the last session of the Assembly.

To the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, I renew my homage for the secure and committed manner in which he is carrying out his mission. As he already knows, Portugal can be counted on in the pursuit of the objectives of peace and development and in the consolidation of a substantial reform of the United Nations system.

My German colleague has already addressed the Assembly on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Union, expressing positions to which Portugal fully subscribes. Nevertheless, I would like to reflect on certain issues which are of particular importance to my country.

The end of the bipolar era has created, somewhat perversely, greater unpredictability and uncertainty in the system of collective security, which has most visibly led to a rebirth of extreme nationalism and new focuses of conflict. In this perspective, I would like to underline the importance we attach to cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations and mechanisms. Such cooperation implements the concept of complementary actions and allows for more agile solutions adapted to concrete circumstances.

The road to stability and the progressive development of a new concept of security also passes through the stimulation of political institutions capable of guaranteeing respect for universally recognized values. Similarly, greater international control of the use of force will require not only the best and most adequate means but also a constantly renewed political legitimacy in order to wield them. In my view, this legitimacy is tied to the goal of building an international society based on ideals which promote peace, democracy and human rights.

We must also keep in mind the socio-economic dimension of the issues that threaten international stability and security. More than ever, we need an integrated approach within which the preventive dimension is given priority, both in its purely political and diplomatic aspect and in its development-aid aspect.

In this context, we underline the importance of the committed participation of all nations in an Agenda for Development, as the Secretary-General has invited us to do. Today more than ever, the portentous words of the Pope ring true: "Development is the new name of peace."

In this regard, we need to rethink, not only the role of development aid, but also the very concept of development. It should become more comprehensive, including respect for democratic values and human rights as well as social and economic issues and other issues related to the preservation of the environment, demographics, the prevention of endemic diseases and the fight against the traffic in drugs.

Here we must also underline the importance we attach to helping countries that are truly committed to implementing social and politico-economic reforms conducive to sustainable development. However, such a process must be complemented by an increasingly liberal international system and by a set of measures that seek to reduce the burden of external debt and create the conditions for a reactivation of private investment in their economies.

In this context, I welcome the signing in Marrakesh of the Uruguay Round agreements and the forthcoming start-up of the World Trade Organization, which will allow for freer trade, with the simultaneous strengthening of rules and disciplines.

As a member of the European Union, Portugal firmly defends the enlargement of the Union and the strengthening of ties with other countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean basin. For the entire continent, the European Union is undoubtedly an immense consolidating force of democratic ideals, stability, prosperity and respect for human rights.

Other organizations, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Western European Union (WEU) and the Council of Europe contribute equally to the same ideals. If the democratization of Eastern Europe has created the possibility of future adhesions to the European Union, it has also led to a new relationship as regards security on the continent.

We understand the desire already expressed by many countries of Central and Eastern Europe to join the defence and security organizations, and we are ready to consider, in due time, a gradual and balanced enlargement of NATO to include those States that share with us the same democratic values and respect for human rights and the rule of law. The question of the enlargement of NATO to the east cannot, however, overshadow the essential transatlantic dimension which

must remain the cornerstone of European security. On the other hand, any increase in the membership of NATO must not create new divisions in Europe. Therefore, Portugal affirms that all the possibilities of the Partnership for Peace, a mechanism aimed at uniting countries of the Eurasian region in activities of military cooperation, must be pursued.

Last year, I stated here that Portugal considers the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty fundamental for international security. As we approach the 1995 Conference I should like to reiterate the intention of my Government to support all efforts that will lead to the unconditional and indefinite extension of that instrument.

While referring to security, I should like to welcome and support the initiative announced here yesterday by President Clinton to reach an agreement on reducing the proliferation of anti-personnel mines. Such an initiative could not be more timely and, for our part, I can announce here that Portugal is in the process of preparing legislation to outlaw the commercialization of those weapons and their production.

In the context of Europe, I cannot avoid referring to the situation in the former Yugoslavia and, in particular, to the terrible conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite all the efforts applied towards bringing an end to that situation, war goes on with its tragic fare of death, destruction and suffering.

The international community has demonstrated that it possesses a common interest in the search for a political solution to the conflict. We must, however, recognize that this progress is insufficient and that, without real political will shown by all parties directly involved, a stable and long-lasting solution will never be found.

Portugal has actively participated in the efforts of the international community with both men and *matériel*, and will continue to remain on the ground for as long as it is useful and necessary. We are, in fact, reinforcing the Portuguese contingent in the area within the activities of the Western European Union (WEU).

Sub-Saharan Africa, to which my country is linked by particularly strong cultural and historical ties, continues to be the region of the planet with the most worrying levels of development. Portugal has defended the idea that the international community should grant Africa first priority, commensurate with the unparalleled magnitude of the problems that need to be overcome. But firstly, Africans themselves must prove that underdevelopment is not inevitable. And the greatest contribution that they can make in this direction is a determined commitment to search for peaceful solutions to both existing and potential conflicts, and a continued deepening of the process of political and social democratization on the continent, as well as the adoption of indispensable economic reforms.

The first free and democratic elections in South Africa and the investiture of Nelson Mandela as its Head of State, as well as the formation of a Government of national unity, represent historic achievements not only because they have left apartheid behind but also because they have proved the viability of finding in Africa peaceful solutions to complex situations. Portugal, which actively participated in all efforts to support the process of democratic transition in that country, warmly salutes the new South Africa, a country which is host to an important Portuguese community. We believe that the human, economic and technological potential of that country can undoubtedly constitute an important factor for economic recovery in all of southern Africa.

In Mozambique also there are signs that the hopes of its people with regard to the peace process will not be disappointed. The completion of the cantonment and demobilization processes, the formation, despite some delays, of the new armed forces and the peaceful manner in which the electoral campaign has been conducted are all crucial achievements to be recognized, and foretell the coming elections of 27 and 28 October 1994 as being a crucial moment for the future of Mozambique.

We appeal to the main Mozambican political forces to find the forms of dialogue and understanding conducive to guaranteeing a true national reconciliation with full respect for democratic principles.

Portugal was an observer at the negotiations and is represented in all the commissions created by the peace accord, playing a major role in the formation of the new army, as well as participating significantly in the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ).

Portugal will remain committed to following this process closely in the context of the accords and we consider it important that the international community support Mozambique not only during this particular phase but also in what we hope will be the following stage of national reconstruction and reconciliation.

In southern Africa, one of the longest, and surely deadliest, conflicts the world has ever known rages on. Angola continues to be the stage for a war that has already claimed hundreds of thousands of innocent victims.

Portugal, as a member of the troika of observer countries, will continue to do all it can in actively supporting the United Nations mediation in the person of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, whose efforts I take this opportunity to salute, in the search for a definitive solution to the Angolan conflict.

The international community cannot and must not forget the origins of the current conflict, which frustrated the hopes of the Angolan people created after the Bicesse accords and the elections of September 1992. Beyond attributing blame, it is now more important not to give up the efforts to bring this terrible conflict to an end.

The Lusaka negotiations, which seek to promote - within the context of respect for the peace accords and relevant resolutions of the Security Council - a genuine reconciliation in Angola, have reached a crucial stage.

The complete acceptance by the Angolan Government and UNITA of the set of proposals of the mediation on national reconciliation constitutes an important step. UNAVEM II must be given the necessary means to complete its mission. For this to happen, appropriate forces must be placed on the ground immediately following the initialling of the accords and the correct dimensions of that peace-keeping operation must be defined.

In any case, peace will not be possible unless there is a genuine will on the part of the Angolans themselves.

I appeal here to the Angolan Government and UNITA to do all in their power so that this opportunity is not lost.

I also appeal to the international community to redouble its commitment and support.

Despite the continuation of the conflict in Angola, the historical changes under way in southern Africa offer possibilities which must be consolidated and developed.

Portugal has from the very beginning supported the project for a dialogue between the European Union and that region of Africa, an idea that has just been expressed in the recent Berlin Conference between the European Union and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). As was stated in the Berlin Declaration, the aim of this dialogue is, *inter alia*, the promotion and development of trade, investment and cooperation, in order to stimulate a balanced development of that region which may, in turn, provide an engine for progress in the rest of the continent.

The dramatic situation in Rwanda shows how important the role of the Organization of African Unity is in the prevention of similar situations, namely through the implementation of its mechanism for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts created last year on 29 July at the Cairo Summit. From the very beginning, Portugal has supported the creation of this mechanism and, in conjunction with African and other like-minded countries, is prepared to participate actively in the search for means that will permit the empowerment of such an instrument.

I cannot end this reference to Africa without welcoming the way in which the first democratic and free elections were held in Guinea-Bissau and expressing satisfaction at the peaceful and orderly climate that has characterized the campaign for the elections in Sao Tome and Principe, to be held in a few days.

One of the current priorities of our foreign policy is the convergence of efforts with those countries which share with us the Portuguese language. With them we are building a community which I am sure will come to represent a new and exemplary political reality.

We are also seeking to deepen the political dialogue and cooperation between Europe and Latin America. That cooperation is institutionalized in its own mechanisms, among which I single out the dialogue between the European Union and the Rio Group as well as the Ibero-American Summits. These in turn have allowed open and profound discussions of political questions of common interest to countries united by close historical and cultural ties and by shared sensitivities. This is what happened, once again, at the Summit in Cartagena, Colombia.

I am glad to be able to acknowledge here the clear evolution towards democracy and respect for human rights that has occurred in all of Latin America and the Caribbean. That very positive evolution contrasts even more strongly with such shocking situations as that of Haiti, a country where conditions are being created for the re-establishment of democratic constitutional order following the intervention of a multinational force authorized by the United Nations Security Council.

Portugal continues to devote special attention to the evolution of the situation in North Africa. To that end, we have advocated a rapprochement with the countries of that area in accordance with the Lisbon Declaration of the European Council, which, I recall, defined a new concept for a political, economic, social and cultural relationship between the European Union and the Maghreb. Following the Corfu meeting of the European Council, which attached particular importance to stability and security in the Mediterranean, we reaffirm our dedication to a dialogue and a deepening of ties with the countries of the region. Nor can we defend any other approach when we consider the geographical proximity and close historical ties that unite Portugal and North Africa.

In fact, it is important that the countries of both sides of the Mediterranean deepen their dialogue so that we can avoid the spread of an idea which we reject - that of conflict between civilizations. On the contrary, we should value the concept that countries with different political ideas and whose populations espouse diverse religions are able to establish ties of trust and true cooperation.

It is my opinion that we have today well-founded reasons to believe that a comprehensive peace in the Middle East will be a reality in the not-too-distant future. The accords already signed between Israel and the Palestinians on the one hand and Israel and Jordan on the other testify to their determination in seeking a comprehensive, just and lasting peace. The achievements already made will certainly serve as a catalyst for new initiatives. From this perspective, the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations should reflect the positive developments already registered.

It is also necessary that the international community, and in particular the countries of the region, support the efforts under way. We hope that progress in the peace process, in both its bilateral and multilateral aspects, foreshadows the capacity to generate a new era of stability and development in that part of the world.

Universalism has always marked the ideas and behaviour of the Portuguese. In Asia Portugal has centuries-old ties with a number of countries which we wish to maintain and develop. It is with great admiration that we look upon the development of some areas of that continent. We are certain that the countries of that region will have ever-increasing importance in the determination of the fate of our planet.

Portugal attaches the greatest importance to respect for human rights, so much so that this respect can be considered to be a major pillar of its foreign policy. Our action has as a fixed reference point the results of the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, which rejected any regression or reduction of the established norms. We support the work of the High Commissioner and the Centre for Human Rights, both of which should be granted the necessary financial means for an efficient exercise of their functions.

We defend with particular commitment the principle of universality when applied to respect for human rights and their indivisibility, and we oppose any attempt to subordinate their strict observance to other objectives. On this issue, we cannot and must not yield. We believe that democracy, respect for human rights and development are mutually reinforcing.

We attach the greatest importance to the international conferences to be held in 1995: the World Summit for Social Development and the World Conference on Women. We consider promising the positive results recently achieved in Cairo by the International Conference on Population and Development, which we welcome.

In the context of human rights, among which this Organization has always included with special distinction the right to self-determination, I feel duty-bound to touch upon a question to which the international community has been giving growing attention. I am referring to the Non-Self-Governing Territory of East Timor. I reaffirm before this Assembly that Portugal has no specific objective concerning the question of East Timor beyond the defence of the rights of its people and the conclusion of the process of decolonizing the Territory in accordance with international law and with full respect for the legitimate rights of the Timorese people. For this reason, we remain committed to talks that, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, are being held with the Indonesian Government with the aim of finding a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution.

Undoubtedly, progress has been slow and we have not advanced on the substance of the matter. But, as a reading of the progress report of the Secretary-General reveals - and I must express here a word of appreciation to him - some steps have been taken, not only through the so-called confidence-building measures, but also with the involvement of the Timorese themselves in the search

for a solution to a problem in which they are the principal interested party.

East Timor has recently ceased to be an almost forgotten Territory. We sincerely hope that the growing attention that has been granted it will contribute decisively to an improvement in the concrete situation of its people and to the adoption of a more coherent attitude in the recognition and defence of their legitimate and inalienable rights.

On 16 November the Convention on the Law of the Sea will come into force, culminating a long and important process which will open new and determinant channels of action and cooperation. The importance of this area will clearly justify the General Assembly's adopting by consensus the draft resolution of the Economic and Social Council on the proclamation of 1998 as the international year of the oceans. We are confident that its proclamation will contribute in an effective manner to a wider debate and a greater enlightenment of world public opinion on the importance of the problems which we face in this area, thus enabling the adoption of solutions that will permit their resolution at a global level. Portugal actively participates in this debate, seeking with the holding of Lisbon Expo/98 - the last great exposition of the twentieth century, the subject-matter of which is directly related to this area - to provide an important instrument for the achievement of the goals we have set.

In conclusion, I should like to reflect upon the institutional reforms that are so necessary for adapting the Organization to the new international context, its challenges and the greater possibilities of global cooperation. These reforms, which we believe to be essential and urgent, should be carried out with transparency and on a consensual basis. They must be realistic and be aimed at increasing efficiency.

Although we are still at a preliminary stage, we consider it useful to state here the aim of our thinking on this matter. First of all, we believe that it is necessary to reinforce the efficiency and responsibility of the Security Council. We maintain that a third category of members should not be created beyond those of permanent and non-permanent members. A pragmatic and reasonable solution to ensure greater representation on the Council would be to increase the number of non-permanent members by one for each region. We are also of the opinion that the number of permanent members should be increased, but such an increase should not be achieved at the expense of the number of non-permanent members. We encourage regional agreements which, through increased rotation, will permit greater representation on the Council. It is crucial that permanent members of the Council should have the ability and the political will to assume fully the responsibilities that come with that status as regards the maintenance of international peace and security.

Some States have declared themselves ready to assume greater responsibilities in regard to the achievement of the objectives of the Charter. The Portuguese Government declares - here today - its support for the inclusion of Germany and Japan as permanent members of the Security Council. Both the unified Germany, a country that provided a notable incentive for the construction of the European Union, and Japan, a great Power of the Asia-Pacific region, are in a position to make an effective contribution towards increasing the weight and the efficiency of the Security Council. It would however be difficult to comprehend if an increase in the number of the permanent members did not also include the southern hemisphere of our planet. In this context, and among the eligible countries, we point naturally to Brazil, a founding Member of the United Nations, the largest country in Latin America and a State that has unequivocally abided by the principles of the Charter.

Portugal is a candidate for a seat on the Security Council for the biennium which begins in 1997. Our candidature reflects a position of profound commitment to the main objectives of the United Nations as set out in the Charter. It reflects also our desire to contribute fully to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Thus, Portugal reaffirms its commitment with regard to the objectives of the United Nations, which my country has supported with increasing responsibility as an active participant in the different areas of the Organization and, particularly, in the United Nations peace-keeping operations.

We are approaching the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations Charter. Portugal will seek to emphasize this commemoration and to ensure that its significance is understood by the public at large and, in particular, by young people.

In this celebration, we wish to contribute to renewing our ideals and sparking people's conscience in order to promote increased participation in the objectives established by the Charter of the United Nations.

In short, this means the creation of a greater sensitivity to the irreplaceable role of the United Nations in the resolution of the major issues faced by humanity at the turn of the century.

The President: I now call on the Minister of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal and for Senegalese Living Abroad.

Mr. Niasse (Senegal) *(interpretation from French)*: The international community is meeting once again, assembling the great diversity of the nations which are its members, to consider the state of the world and to chart the paths of progress for the 12 months that lie ahead.

We give thanks to God for having inspired the delegations here present in their choice of His Excellency Mr. Amara Essy, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the sisterly and friendly Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, as President of the Assembly at this session. His election is both an honour to him personally and a tribute to his country inasmuch as the world recognizes and acknowledges the great dedication of Côte d'Ivoire to everything affecting peace and understanding among people. It does so thanks to the vision of the late President Houphouët-Boigny, which continues to be carried on by his illustrious successor, President Henri Konan Bédié.

The personal joy and pride which I feel concerning him as our friend and brother is shared by my entire delegation as well as in Senegal which, since time immemorial, has had numerous ties of friendship and cooperation with Côte d'Ivoire. Hence, the acknowledgement of his merits by the international community was received and hailed in Senegal with the same intensity as in Côte d'Ivoire. The President can count on the support of the delegation of Senegal to contribute to the success of his mission. The warmth of the congratulations we extend to him today is equalled by the pride which we feel at seeing him preside over the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

We pay a tribute to his predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Guyana, Ambassador Insanally, for the skill and authority with which he guided the work of the Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

I should like also to repeat our gratitude to our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the energy and dedication which he continues to devote to his outstanding mission at the head of our Organization, a mission which he is carrying out with the same efficiency in an ever more difficult global context.

Finally, allow me to thank delegations for the unanimous decision to elect the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations, Mr. Kéba Birane Cissé, one of our most outstanding diplomats, as Chairman of the Third Committee. In so doing this mission is entrusted to Senegal, whose dedication to human rights and to the other areas falling within the competence of this important Committee, is known to all. Mr. Cissé and all of us intend to dedicate ourselves fully, together with the other countries represented here, to ensure that the work of the Third Committee is crowned with success.

If there are years which the history of the world cannot ignore, the twelve-month period that has just elapsed is doubtless among them. It has been extremely rich in events of great political significance characterized by the positive developments of the situation in South Africa which saw the end of apartheid and which, only a few months ago, saw the advent of a democratic Power. It was also a period marked by the political and psychological upheavals that have taken place in Arab-Israeli relations. In this context, we are gratified to see South Africa now occupying its rightful place in the family of nations.

The truth always wins in the end. It is in the name of that inevitable reality - which is the token of the ultimate objective of just causes - that the chronic problem of the Middle East - at the heart of which is the question of Palestine - has, since the Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993 in Washington, seen developments marked by the continued collapse of important panels of that psychological wall that has so long divided Arabs and Israelis.

Thus, in the region which was the cradle of the sublime spiritual messages of the religions of the Book, such developments now justify hope - the hope of finally seeing the creation of a space for lasting coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians, between Israel and the Arab countries, with genuine respect for the inalienable rights of the peoples and States of the entire region. They justify the hope of seeing the establishment, between those States and peoples, of cooperation at all possible levels, to manage, together, their vital support systems.

It is only fitting that in mentioning those hopes we pay a tribute to all those involved in this positive development whose efforts have made possible the opening of this new window of opportunity on the conflict in the Middle East, especially the Palestinian and Israeli leaders who, thanks to their political courage and sense of history, finally agreed to set out on this path towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

In again expressing to His Excellency President Yasser Arafat Senegal's support and admiration for the courage and political farsightedness which led him to keep a firm grip on that olive branch of which he spoke here in 1974, I should like on behalf of Senegal to formulate the hope that as he takes the additional steps necessary to reach an overall solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict all the other aspects of this matter will be dealt with in accordance with the positive trend of present developments, and that a settlement will be reached in keeping with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

We also wish wholeheartedly to extend these congratulations and expressions of encouragement to the Israeli Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Yitzak Rabin, and to his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Shimon Peres, for their sustained efforts to achieve a settlement of the Middle East crisis. Such efforts must be pursued, stepped up and encouraged.

However, the past year, although marked by such positive and historic events, was not free from reasons for concern and even, at times, despair. Indeed, despite our constantly renewed efforts, a number of conflicts persist and are even sometimes becoming mired down in scenes of horror we had hoped never against to witness.

From Angola to Bosnia and Herzegovina, from Liberia to Somalia, and recently in Rwanda, we have received the echoes and images and witnessed the piercing horror of persistent crisis situations that leave us no choice other than to continue doggedly to strive for dialogue and concerted action to find lasting solutions based on equity, based on justice, based on law and based on the unshakeable will to live finally in peace in a community made up of human beings.

In the conflict situations on the African continent, today, more than ever before, machinery for the prevention, management and settlement of African conflicts must be implemented through respect for the various peace agreements that have been signed among factions that are, sadly, continuing to kill each other; our continent of Africa must be committed once and for all to the only battle worth the candle, namely, the battle for democratic development and the advancement of human rights.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has dedicated itself to this task, and it has done so persistently and courageously. Today, it needs the support of the whole of the international community.

The question of Angola must be peacefully and finally resolved in the spirit of the Lusaka negotiations, under the aegis of the United Nations. After having hailed the meritorious efforts undertaken by the authorities in Luanda, we must launch another strong and concrete appeal to UNITA to allow peace finally to reign in Angola.

In connection with the problems in Somalia and Rwanda, I should like to recall certain specific facts concerning the position that my country, Senegal, has taken on these questions of such concern to everyone.

In Somalia, the peace so long sought by the international community can obviously come about only through an overall political settlement that would deal with all aspects of that fratricidal conflict. Moreover, because he understood this at a very early stage, His Excellency President Abdou Diouf - then the Chairman of the OAU, and also in his capacity of President of the Sixth Summit Meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference - speaking from this rostrum in 1992, put forward the idea of convening an international conference devoted to Somalia. The General Assembly at that time responded to the appeal by the Senegalese Head of State by adopting a resolution to that effect that is still highly relevant. Given the persistence of the problem of Somalia, which today seems more than ever likely to take another tragic turn, it would appear that the time has come to re-examine that initiative.

In Rwanda, a human tragedy on a virtually unprecedented scale took place following the events of last April. In this connection, I should like to note that our country has been actively involved in the search for a solution to this conflict since 1992. Indeed, President Abdou Diouf, then the Chairman of the OAU, presided over the lengthy negotiations that culminated in the Arusha Agreements. In addition, officers from the Senegalese national army were part of the Group of Neutral Military Observers of the OAU entrusted with supervising the cease-fire, a group that was as we know replaced in 1993, with the signature of the Arusha

Agreements, by the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), in which Senegal has participated and continues to participate.

Thus, it was quite natural that on 22 June of this year, faced with the inadmissible continuing massacre of civilians, the Security Council adopted resolution 929 (1994), which established a multinational force for humanitarian purposes, and that Senegal decided to participate in it.

With regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina, need we recall that this is a United Nations Member State to whose territorial integrity and sovereignty the international community is committed. This places full responsibility on the community of nations, gathered together here, to settle the conflict after identifying the aggressor.

However, it is as though the Bosnian Serbs had been actually authorized to defy with impunity and in an ongoing fashion the expressed will of the international community. The attacks against the personnel of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the repeated violations of security zones, the rejection of the latest peace plan proposed by the Contact Group of five Western countries, are all part of a pattern of confrontation with which the international community must finally deal, firmly and with determination.

In this connection, we believe that the adoption on 23 September 1994 of Security Council resolution 943 (1994), which suspended the economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), is not only premature but untimely, given the deterioration in the situation.

It is our opinion, one shared by the majority of States here present, that the sanctions should be, if not strengthened, at least maintained until favourable conditions have been created - that is, the establishment of an effective system of international monitoring of the border between Serbia and Montenegro, on the one hand, and the territories occupied by the Bosnian Serbs, on the other; the lifting of the siege of Sarajevo; the sincere commitment by the Bosnian Serbs to cooperate in reaching a comprehensive political settlement of the crisis; the lifting, where the Bosnian Government is concerned, of the arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 713 (1991) in order to restore to Bosnia and Herzegovina the means for its self-defence as set forth in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

It is also important that the international community dedicate itself to the reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country that is today being battered and devastated by blatant aggression.

In our view, those measures represent the minimum we should expect from the international community in order to give credibility to the peace process being pursued in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On this delicate issue, Senegal, whose Head of State is also the current President of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, will continue to act within the framework of international law to ensure that the Bosnian people, finally reconciled among themselves, may know lasting peace based on an equality of rights and duties among its various components.

The economic problems today are of such a magnitude that a new concept of world security has been generated. Today, indeed, the feeling of insecurity emanates more often from the vicissitudes of daily life than from any fear of global cataclysm. That is the conclusion reached in this year's report by the United Nations Development Programme on human development.

Job security, health security and environmental security are the forms that the global problem of security takes today. This development naturally raises the question of the definition of a new "social pact", which must give further priority to human solidarity - solidarity among the communities of men - and it demonstrates the great importance that Senegal attaches to the Summit on social development that is to be held in Copenhagen next March. On that occasion we shall have to restructure our thinking about development, and it will be necessary to highlight better the human aspect of development based on greater international solidarity.

It was in this spirit that, here on 30 September 1992, Senegal's Head of State proposed to the international community the conclusion of a general agreement on solidarity - a gentlemen's agreement on solidarity. It is a positive thing that this proposal has been largely taken on board in the United Nations Secretary-General's outline, Agenda for Development, which is designed to promote a genuine culture of development that will take into account all aspects of the human condition.

For the same reasons Senegal welcomes warmly the reforms of United Nations bodies that are under way - in

particular, those bodies that are responsible for questions of economic and social development.

We favour the formula "Trade, not aid", which has often been used to indicate that global trade is the genuine driving force for economic progress - more so than aid for development. It is beneficial that, along these lines, on 15 April last, in Marrakesh in the Kingdom of Morocco, the representatives of 126 countries signed the agreement that created the World Trade Organization (WTO).

We hope that the birth of the WTO represents the completion of the structure that was conceived half a century ago in Bretton Woods as international trade has been raised to the same status as monetary policy and finance for development. Thus, the Marrakesh Final Act opens the way for a new dynamic of concerted action, of consultation and solidarity, that will finally allow for the promotion of a more just and more balanced system designed to govern international trade.

If it is to do so, its practical application will have to involve integration of the specific needs and specific problems of the group of developing countries - such as greater justice in the definition and application of new machinery designed to govern international trade; regional economic integration; immigration policies; professional training; job creation; and the transfer of technologies to meet the needs and aspirations of the countries of the South.

In this regard, I must mention an event of great importance: the adoption, in Paris on 18 June 1994, of the International Convention to Combat Desertification in Those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, Particularly in Africa. Many of us here represent those countries.

This is the outcome, in terms of action, of one of the major recommendations to emerge from the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. As an initiator of the Convention, our continent - Africa - cannot but welcome the conclusion of this multilateral legal instrument, which recognizes the existence of such a worrying environmental problem.

It is desirable that there should be available to this Convention, as to others of the same type, sufficient financial resources to enable it to halt and reverse the process of desertification, which is a real scourge for the African continent.

The changes of considerable scope that have taken place on the world stage over the past few years confront the United Nations with new challenges and new missions. For example, how can the Organization deal with identity claims, domestic difficulties and civil wars while respecting the principle of the sovereignty of States, which is the cornerstone of the San Francisco Charter?

In what way can it - must it - react when individuals and groups perpetrate all types of serious violations of fundamental human rights, as happens in the case of the conflicts that prevail in the former Yugoslavia, Angola, Somalia and Rwanda? What barriers can be erected against terrorism and civil war in order to cope with the fragmentation of State entities, which are factors for peace? In these difficult areas, as in others, our Organization will have to demonstrate its ability to engage in innovation and adaptation.

The establishment of an international Tribunal to deal with war crimes in the former Yugoslavia; the plan to set up an international criminal court; the deliberation, begun last year, on reform of the Security Council and on better implementation of Chapter VIII of the Charter - these all demonstrate that the United Nations has committed itself firmly to that course.

As regards the Security Council in particular, the reform that is envisaged should be carried out with concern simultaneously for efficiency in the functioning of this body and for real representativeness in keeping with the new realities of the world.

The changes that have taken place in the world during the last few years have as their essence the fundamental aspiration of peoples to freedom, justice and development in a spirit of human solidarity. If it is to last, the wind of democratization that they have created at the national level requires parallel action at the international level. Indeed, we must all ensure the equal participation of all States in the establishment of new norms that can give international life a more solid foundation and provide better security for all. Such security can be founded only on shared confidence in the principles that govern our collective contribution to a better future for the world - to the salvation of mankind.

Therefore, on the eve of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of our Organization, let us, hand in hand in a spirit of friendship and solidarity, behave in such a way that the new era will shine with the radiance

of justice, peace and solidarity so that we may bequeath to future generations a world of peace, justice and friendship.

The President: I now call on the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade of New Zealand, His Excellency Mr. Donald Charles McKinnon.

Mr. McKinnon (New Zealand): I should like, first, to congratulate Mr. Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire on his well-deserved election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session and to convey to him our good wishes for every success in his work.

The general debate is our chance, as Members of the United Nations, to undertake together an annual review of the Organization's work - its successes and its failures - and to identify collectively the issues we want to focus on. With the fiftieth anniversary next year, there is a pressing need to do so. That will be the occasion to chart our new priorities for the twenty-first century.

Our responses to some of today's challenges and tragedies have ranged from excellent but often under-reported to woefully inadequate and, consequently, defiantly reported.

The peoples of the world want to believe in the United Nations and what it should achieve. If, however, within some parts of the Organization we are bereft of purpose and intentions this golden anniversary threatens to be less joyous and more muted than many of us anticipated.

Prince Sisowath Sirirath (Cambodia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

New Zealand has a strong vested interest in the United Nations success, as do most small States. The New Zealand people have always believed in the United Nations, in a collective approach to the resolution of global and regional problems. This has been demonstrated by strong support for the United Nations by successive Governments.

From our experience of - and I do not hesitate to say this - a turbulent two years on the Security Council and as a committed founder Member of the Organization, I would like to take this opportunity to offer some observations about the problems we see as players in the collective decision-making process.

When New Zealand took part in the founding of the United Nations we and many others saw our primary purpose as providing for a system of collective security. Until very recently that was little more than a vision. With the end of the confrontation between two super-Power blocs, the goal of "the organized common peace", of which President Woodrow Wilson spoke so eloquently three generations ago, presents itself. We must not let it slip from our grasp this time. It will, however, take real effort and real determination.

Collective security, or working together, is the cornerstone of the security of small States. Today they are the overwhelming majority of the membership of this Organization. New Zealanders recognize that peace is indivisible, that remoteness is certainly no safeguard: a problem in any part of the world can ripple to the Earth's farthest corners. While we are the country probably most distant from the Balkans conflict, we have sent an enhanced company of soldiers to help in efforts to ease suffering and, I earnestly hope with the will of the parties involved, one day bring peace throughout the former Yugoslavia.

For the same reasons, our defence personnel can be found engaged in peace-support operations in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and most recently Haiti. And there are New Zealand nurses, firefighters and aid workers spread around the globe in support.

Against this backdrop, however, New Zealanders are puzzled at times by the way in which the United Nations carries out some of its important tasks. In Bosnia, despite the employment of what is by any standards a large, well-armed and well-trained force, people see on their television screens nightly the frustration of the United Nations Protection Force by small groups of irregulars, a single policeman or even small groups of non-combatants. In Haiti they witnessed a boat full of Blue Berets turned away by a small group of pistol-toting thugs unconvincingly called "attachés".

And what can one say about the appalling tragedy in Rwanda? How can so much hatred have been unleashed so viciously, killing hundreds of thousands? What we watched with horror on our television screens was destruction on a scale we thought only megaton bombs were capable of. The systematic slaughter of men, women and children simply because of their ethnic origin leaves us all outraged.

There are no easy answers. But the first key to unlocking the possibilities for a genuine collective security must be the proper application of the United

Nations Charter. We have to decide at exactly what point the United Nations should get involved in the peacemaking operation. Do we recognize a problem, and, if we do, is the preventive diplomacy that we so firmly believe in occurring?

In my view, we have to follow the intention of the Charter. First, at the outset of a crisis, or even the signs of a crisis, we have to make more serious efforts through that preventive diplomacy to resolve problems and conflicts by negotiation. Efforts must be made at an early stage to address the root causes of conflicts by the Security Council's exercising all its responsibilities under Chapter VI of the Charter.

However, on some occasions, in these days of modern media technology, we face the dilemma caused by the divergence between what the public perceives as happening and what is the reality. Extensive media coverage puts pressure on for immediate response. In the case of Rwanda, that was appropriate. In other circumstances, the media oversimplify and ignore the fact that conditions on the ground are chaotic and United Nations resources are over-stretched.

A second area where the Charter could be more carefully applied is when disputes are first placed before the Council. I believe it should give affected States an adequate hearing before addressing the problem behind closed doors. Our experience on the Security Council suggests the investment in openness that would be achieved by developing a practice of collectively hearing directly from the parties involved would be worthwhile, even if it were done only informally.

In the same vein, the Charter specifically contemplates the involvement, without vote, of troop-contributing countries in significant decisions. New Zealand has pressed this issue for some time, but so far with limited success. The time is coming, in fact, when the General Assembly will have to address the question if the Security Council does not respond adequately to the concerns that have been raised.

Under the Charter, much is expected of the Council's permanent members. There is no doubt that they can and do contribute greatly to the work of the United Nations. Leadership and sacrifices by the large Powers were, for example, instrumental in successfully challenging aggression against the small State of Kuwait three-and-a-half years ago.

I emphasize again, however, the importance of the collective nature of decision-making in the Security Council. Making distinctions between the views of the "P5" and the rest is not really healthy. The Council is a team of 15. It must work together, and by that I mean giving full weight to the views of all its members. The strength of the Security Council is enhanced each year by the vigorous enthusiasm brought by new members on 1 January, testing what may have become an accepted second-best.

I would remind the Assembly that the Charter clearly envisages that the norm for operations to maintain international peace and security will be United Nations operations. National operations are not ruled out, of course. I wish therefore to highlight and question recent trends toward coalitions under national command, and the implications for the collective security needs of small and distant countries where no strategic interest is involved.

However, the Security Council will be judged on its effectiveness. Successes, hopefully, will outweigh failures, but we all have an obligation to improve the success rate. I am an enthusiastic supporter of improving our success rate, but much of that will come down to the way in which issues are managed. And it is that question of the management of issues that I wish to address.

In our experience, the key is to use management tools based on proven modern public- and private-sector experience. This is very valuable. What are these tools? And how do we apply them to the conduct of peace-keeping operations?

I would suggest that there are six critical elements: first, a sustainable financial system; secondly, a transparent political accountability; thirdly, clear objectives that incorporate regular reviews; fourthly, a clear, unambiguous command and control structure; fifthly, a credible legal regime that guarantees the security of United Nations personnel; and, sixthly, the availability of resources so that objectives can be met quickly and efficiently.

Let me go back to that first point, a sustainable financial system. There is no doubt that the Organization is facing a financial crisis that cannot be ignored. We have had serious problems with reserves and we have significant debt to contributing countries. The largest contributor has indicated that it will unilaterally reduce its share of funding from October next year. The situation is not sustainable. It requires urgent action.

Why do we have this crisis? There are some simple answers. Some members cannot pay; others will not pay; and some are arguing the legitimacy of their assessment. The General Assembly, this body, must confront this issue. The United Nations must stop extending credit to non-payers. There is enough evidence emerging to suggest that there may be serious inequities in the present system.

Some countries with extraordinarily strong growth over the past 5 to 10 years appear in the revised scale issued by the Committee on Contributions with a constant or even reduced contribution level. That is not acceptable. It must be remedied.

We do not want a hollow celebration on the fiftieth anniversary with a cash crisis hanging over the Organization. We must make a commitment to resolve this crisis before the conclusion of the forty-ninth session.

The next point is the need for political accountability. There is in my view a parallel priority to develop and improve the Organization's capacity for undertaking its collective security responsibilities. To do that we need to put in place more transparent procedures throughout the Organization. The management of peace-keeping operations is allocated to the Secretariat. This is necessary and appropriate in the same way any Government delegates responsibility for a complex operation to its public service.

However, and I speak as a politician and as a Minister responsible for the management and oversight of Government departments, the days are long gone when a public service mandarin could run a department or major operation without detailed political oversight. This is not a promotion of micro-management, nor am I implying any criticism of the Secretariat staff. But as any politician holding executive office in today's democracies knows, the classic recipe for a failed project is for those who are politically accountable to lose track of implementation or to lose the game plan.

We saw that all too clearly in the past year in Somalia. Ironically the Security Council had, in resolution 814 (1993), already foreseen the need in the case of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) for a detailed political accountability and provided for a committee to follow the operation closely. But the committee was never established.

New Zealand has proposed in the Security Council that a committee or an ad hoc working group should be established to fill this gap and enhance the accountability of the Organization to its politically responsible representatives. I certainly remain hopeful that progress can be made in this area.

The third point I draw to the attention of members is the need for clear objectives with regular reviews. Clearer mission objectives must be developed and kept under review. I am delighted that some progress has in fact been made. The Council is now identifying more closely the terms of mandates for United Nations operations, and it is becoming usual to build a specific review cycle into its mandates. But there are still two areas of weakness.

First, there is a great deal of mythology about and very little sound analysis of the circumstances in which force should be used by United Nations operations. Many believe this is governed by the use or non-use of the words "Chapter VII". This could well be a false conclusion. The rules of engagement rather than abstract reference to the Charter are much more likely to determine actual behaviour in the field.

I am not alone in believing that there is a need to develop greater commonality in military doctrine for United Nations peace-keeping operations. This is especially relevant when so many peace-keeping contributors are regularly placed side by side in the field. It is, however, particularly urgent in the face of new-style operations of the intra-country type where the use of force by factions, not necessarily Governments, is the challenge for this body to overcome.

It is clear that common principles are necessary to guide peace-keepers on the appropriate use of force when they take part in operations in pursuit of an agreed United Nations strategic objective. As for the review, while there are plenty of mid-term reviews there is, as yet, no systematic process of review at the end of an operation. The budget of every peace-keeping operation should include provision, as a principal line item, for the preparation of a comprehensive review of the operation's achievements relative to the mandate set.

Such reviews should be separate from the financial performance review and should address the substance of the operation and seek to identify all relevant lessons for the conduct of future operations.

I address now the question of command and control. There is a weakness in the command and control structures and they do need attention. It is true the

personnel of national defence forces which contribute forces to the United Nations legally remain in their country's national service. But as I see it, parallel to the allocation of responsibility to the United Nations Force Commander must be a recognition that the national command structure will not seek to direct their forces in operational matters. If the national command authority has serious difficulties, then the appropriate course of action in all cases - except an emergency - is for the issue to be resolved with United Nations Headquarters. If resolution is not possible the unit should be withdrawn.

I come to the question of the safety of peace-keeping personnel. A major requirement for effective collective security is that countries contributing troops and civilian personnel should have confidence that their personnel in the field will have the best possible support to ensure their safety and security. That is an issue which, as many members know, New Zealand has pursued relentlessly during its time on the Council. It bears on the level of equipment with which the forces are outfitted and there is plenty of room for improvement.

In addition, the legal regime under which peace-keeping operations are conducted needs to reflect the extraordinary personal risk which United Nations personnel are undertaking on behalf of us all in carrying out collective security operations. It is right that such personnel should be differentiated from soldiers in an armed conflict and that there should be a higher standard of legal responsibility for anybody who attacks them. I urge all members of the Assembly to support New Zealand's initiative on this issue currently in the Sixth Committee, that the necessary flexibility be shown on outstanding issues and that we make a really determined effort to complete work on the draft convention this year.

The question of resources is always before us. In my sixth point I would say that a critical tool for effective collective security is a strategy for resource availability. The situation we all saw recently in Rwanda is a classic case. Human resources were available but they lacked training and they lacked equipment. But there is also the need for a capacity in all peace-keeping operations for a forceful response in self-defence. There are important lessons to be learned from the troop losses in Rwanda last April and again I draw attention to the linkage between mandates, rules of engagement, doctrine and planning.

The United Nations will have to go beyond the current work being done on stand-by forces to address this problem.

We believe that there is a case for redirecting a substantial portion of bilateral military assistance into forms of training that would better assist defence forces with the requirements of peace-keeping operations.

There is also a role for the United Nations maintaining the physical equivalent of the peace-keeping reserve fund that it is supposed to have on the financial side now. A quick start-up capability, with owned or leased equipment immediately available to the United Nations, would have made a significant difference in the Rwanda situation. This is a practical and feasible step that can be taken to ensure that future collective security can in fact rise to the challenge.

I have spoken about the factors that need to be taken into account in managing peace-keeping operations. I now wish to address the terms of their engagements.

The United Nations should not be expected to take responsibility for a situation of up to 30 years because the parties to a conflict are unable or unwilling to summon up the necessary political will to reach a settlement. There comes a point when the parties must take their fate in their own hands rather than the Council avoiding the hard decisions just by rolling over the mandates.

At the same time, a range of different considerations should prevail when the United Nations reaches the end of a successful peace-keeping process. The United Nations cannot simply walk away when a perceived end point - such as an election - has been achieved, because there may still be outstanding issues that need the ongoing support of the operation, such as humanitarian operations or local capability-building programmes to help provide the required sound administration.

The United Nations deserves congratulations on its achievements in Cambodia, for example, but the future there is still not certain, and the United Nations must maintain its responsibilities. Rehabilitation in that country must continue.

Another example of a situation in which peacemaking and peace-building have to be seen as a coherent whole is in the area of demining. This is a critically important humanitarian function. New Zealand's military forces have had a lot of experience in helping the United Nations with demining in Afghanistan, Cambodia and, most recently, Mozambique.

The Security Council Mission that visited Mozambique about two months ago reported its dismay at the delays and at the state of the programme generally. At the request of the United Nations, New Zealand stepped in early in August and began the rescue effort for the programme. The wheel should not have had to be reinvented. It is a concern that lessons learned from earlier operations such as Afghanistan and Cambodia do not appear to be retained. Having seen firsthand the effects of mines in Cambodia, I do believe we should move more expeditiously than the speed of the present performance.

New Zealand certainly looks forward to working with other delegations to improve performance in this area, and I would certainly add that my Government was most interested in the comments President Clinton made here yesterday about the proposal for the elimination of the world's 85 million anti-personnel land-mines. This is an urgent task. No one who has seen firsthand the human cost of mines can offer anything less than full cooperation to this end.

Finally, when we look ahead to what would really enhance proper use of the collective security powers, we have to conclude that reform of the Security Council is a major task waiting to be fulfilled. Many of the things I have discussed today require reforms by the Security Council, or at least in conjunction with it. But I cannot escape the conclusion that even if all of these were accomplished, the political legitimacy of the Security Council could still erode over a period of time. Ultimately it could lose the credibility vital to the role it carries out.

Collective security requires the Council to be genuinely representative of the entire United Nations membership. We have, of course, as many others have done, followed the debate on Security Council reform in the Open-ended Working Group set up last year. We hear the case made for additional permanent members. We also hear overwhelming support for expanding the number of non-permanent members of the Council. There are shades of difference on the numbers for the total membership, but consensus does seem to be emerging around five or six new members. We consider that a limited expansion of the number of members, paying regard to an equitable geographical participation, is still a priority for the health of the Organization. It is time to do what is achievable and what benefits most Members. Given the need for 122 ratifications, we are aware that even a simple expansion, hopefully adopted next year, will take several years to come into force. It would not be unrealistic, therefore, for the year 2000 to see the first meeting of the expanded Council.

There is no worth in being critical of some aspects of the United Nations without believing, as I do, that the problems can be cured. We, all 184 of us, are its doctors, and we need to act quickly. We need to apportion our costs fairly and systematically. We need to share peace-keeping tasks, peace-keeping funding and peace-keeping supplies. We need to accept the democratic decisions of this Organization. We also need to adjust to the more complex and interrelated United Nations agendas of the future.

I therefore leave with the Assembly New Zealand's assurance of a renewed commitment to this unique and essential body and of our willingness to work in that spirit to ensure the continued relevance of the United Nations for the next half-century.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Salem Ould Lekhal.

Mr. Ould Lekhal (Mauritania) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: First of all, I should like to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, my warmest congratulations on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

We are convinced that your outstanding skills and your vast experience will guarantee the success of this session. Your country, the sister republic of Côte d'Ivoire, has always played an effective and moderating role in the search for peace in Africa and throughout the world.

I should like also to express my most sincere congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Samuel Insanally of Guyana, for the competence and skill with which he led the work of the previous session.

I should like also to express, on behalf of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, our admiration of and support for the unremitting efforts of Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations, aimed at enabling our Organization to achieve its goals.

Our current session takes place at a time when the international community is faced with numerous challenges. These include a constant deterioration in the

terms of trade, the growing disparity between rich and poor countries, and an increase in hotbeds of tension. In addition, many people in the poor countries are being crushed under a debt burden that is constantly getting heavier, with, as a consequence, gloomy prospects for the socio-economic development of the peoples of those countries.

Instead of the hoped-for prosperity, what we are witnessing today are bloody conflicts which are ravaging entire countries with all their attendant miseries and forms of destruction. Such nefarious developments not only undermine all the hard-won achievements of the people of those countries, but also afflict them with new types of suffering and make them lose any hope they may have had in enjoying a life of dignity, stability and progress.

The international economic situation continues to be cause for concern for a large number of developing countries that feel the negative impacts of structural adjustment programmes, which focus on macroeconomic equilibriums and display a marked degree of such indifference to the social cost of such adjustments.

It should be emphasized that of the 55 countries which have implemented those programmes during the 1980-1989 period, only 7 have been able to improve their economic situation. During that same decade, a downward trend in per capita income was noted in 29 countries, while in 13 other countries there has been a real deterioration of social conditions.

These crisis elements have been compounded by stagnation and the reduction in public development assistance, despite the fact that the .7 per cent objective was supposed to contribute to the creation of better conditions.

It is regrettable to note that the deterioration in the economic situation is of such a nature that it may well have a negative effect on the implementation of international conventions and programmes, notably those which relate to the environment, the programme of action for children, and the programme of action for the advancement and protection of human rights. Furthermore such deterioration will have an adverse effect on the chances for the success of other ongoing negotiations which aim at finding solutions to problems that threaten the prosperity of humankind as a whole.

As a matter of fact, the negative effects of the economic crisis are too numerous to enumerate and unfortunately, it is the most vulnerable sectors of society, such as women, children and the poor that bear the full brunt of the situation. If in our time unemployment and a high crime rate are widespread phenomena, countries with limited resources are apt to be more exposed to their effects than others. The need to devise a preventive approach which would make it possible to face up to these social ills is thus becoming all the more urgent.

In this regard, we welcome the forthcoming World Summit for Social Development, in Copenhagen, and hope the summit will result in initiatives that will enable developing countries to make significant advances in their development.

It has become quite clear that development is the real guarantor of world peace and that the miserable living conditions of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of our planet make it impossible to achieve peace and stability in our world.

Thus we place a great deal of hope in the Secretary-General's proposed Agenda for Development. Such a document would deserve our appreciation and should obtain widespread support in order for it to become a true tool in promoting economic and social development everywhere.

The fragility of the world economic situation should not obscure the successes achieved in several areas of international relations.

In this context, we welcome the success of the Secretary-General's consultations which aimed at resolving the problems posed to certain countries by Chapter XI of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, whose coming into force as of 16 November 1994, will mark the beginning of a decisive phase in its evolution.

Our country considers that the United Nations Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks should lead to strict and global resolutions that would put an end to the plundering of fishing resources as well as to the anarchy that currently prevails in the seas.

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania has, along with countries threatened by the phenomenon of desertification, made major efforts to conclude a world convention to fight drought and desertification, especially in Africa. While we welcome the positive outcome of

those negotiations, we do express the hope that the convention will be the start of positive action on the part of the international community in favour of those countries which have suffered the most.

All the results achieved thanks to the efforts of the United Nations highlight the focal and vital role with which our Organization is entrusted and attest to its universality.

There is no doubt, however, that a reform of the structures and procedures of the Organization is now necessary. The decisions already taken to revitalize the Economic and Social Council will be no more than a dead letter so long as they are not accompanied by the allocation of resources that would make it possible to implement the development programmes.

We should always bear in mind the fact that all conflicts and all the resultant peace-keeping operations, which mobilize such vast financial resources, have as their main cause the deterioration of the economic and social conditions of the countries concerned.

A rapid overview of our globe and the areas of tension is enough to prove that underdevelopment and the problems it causes only fuel such tensions.

Advances in the area of democracy and human rights are, to be sure, the most important achievements the international community has seen in recent times.

While we commend the progress achieved in these two areas, we must not lose sight of the fact that democracy cannot be confined to the national frameworks of individual States, but should embrace also international relations among nations.

This is the reason why we support efforts to expand representation within the Security Council by increasing its membership. We hope that such reform will take place in line with the tenets of democratic transparency.

Whatever the final formula adopted for the new configuration of the Security Council might be, we believe it will be necessary to respect the principle of the co-equality of Member States, and the fact that, according to Article 24 of the Charter, the Security Council acts on behalf of those Member States, and must, therefore, reflect the views and aspirations of the international community in its entirety.

The democratic process which was launched in 1986 in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania through the establishment of democratic institutions and the organization of presidential and parliamentary elections in 1992, has been consolidated further with the organization of elections for municipal councils and for one third of the senate seats. Those elections, which have elicited extensive participation on the part of voters, have been covered extensively by the independent national press, following electoral campaigns by several political parties which represent various trends of opinion.

Thus the Mauritanian people are daily consolidating the foundations of their young democracy, which in the words of the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Maaouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, is the mainspring "of all sovereignty and legality".

It is in this democratic environment that the Mauritanian people are waging a determined struggle against various aspects of economic and social underdevelopment.

We should highlight the important gains made by our country through the implementation, in 1984, of a series of economic reforms, as well as the political stability, freedom, justice and equality now enjoyed by all Mauritanian citizens.

We should also voice the pride of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania at being one of the few developing countries where there have been no political prisoners, and where freedom of the press, a multi-party system, and freedom of trade unions have become realities similar to those which States that value the rule of law, such as the countries with longstanding democratic traditions, pride themselves on.

The quest for peace will continue to be our main concern so that we may rise to the challenges of the end of this century. The end of the cold war has opened up new vistas for the emergence of a better world where justice and peace may prevail. Yet the increasing number of hotbeds of tension which require the organization of peace-keeping operations leads us to believe that a new style of diplomacy is becoming a must if we are to prevent the recurrence of human tragedies similar to those which were witnessed in the past or those which we now experience and are unable to stop or to resolve.

Our country hopes that the recent developments which have been taking place in the Middle East will constitute the beginnings of a solution to the tragedy of the Palestinian people and that, at last, they will be able to exercise their legitimate right to establish an independent State. We believe that the Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993, giving autonomy to Gaza - which was followed up by the Cairo agreement of 4 May 1994 and most recently, on 25 July 1994, the meeting between His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin - will usher in a new era. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania hopes this initial success will lead to a just, comprehensive and lasting peace based on the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

The United Nations should continue to support peace efforts in the Middle East until such time as a final settlement of the problems still pending in the region is reached. In this connection, we hope the commitment undertaken by donors at their meeting on 1 October 1993 will be translated into concrete action that would revitalize the economy of Palestine and help solve its economic and social problems.

In that sensitive region, the after-effects of the Gulf war continue to make themselves felt. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, which has always affirmed its unswerving support for international legality, has made clear its total rejection of any violation of fraternal Kuwait's independence or territorial integrity or of the rights of its citizens, just as it stands against anything that might undermine Iraq's unity or territorial integrity. The time has come to put an end to the suffering of the Iraqi people.

In the same sensitive region, my country wishes to renew its unflagging and total support for the recovery by the fraternal State of the United Arab Emirates of its legitimate rights over the islands of Lesser Tumb, Greater Tumb and Abu Moussa.

With regard to the Arab Maghreb, we still hope the United Nations will be able to eliminate the obstacles which continue to impede the resolution to the Sahara problem. My country will spare no effort in helping the Organization in the implementation of resolutions relevant to this issue. Our determination stems from our desire to reach a just and lasting solution and to strengthen the process of building a united Arab Maghreb.

We also hope the embargo imposed on the Libyan people will be lifted. We are aware that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has shown tangible proof of its readiness to cooperate with the United Nations and other groups and that the embargo is affecting the interests of all other peoples in the Maghreb.

With regard to Africa, I should like to express my country's satisfaction with the peace-keeping operations approved by the United Nations with the aim of putting an end to the bloody confrontations in parts of that continent. The Rwandan tragedy, marked by the death of half a million people in the space of a few weeks, is one of the most horrible ordeals of our era. In this connection, I must commend the excellent organization of Operation Turquoise, which has been led and meticulously executed by France within the allotted time-frames. The operation was a model of proper and disinterested humanitarian intervention. My country took part in that noble humanitarian action that saved tens of thousands of human lives and provided our Rwandan brethren with an opportunity to work together to find a solution to their problem. We hope such international efforts will enable those brethren to heal their wounds and work towards the establishment of national unity and the rebuilding of their country.

Unfortunately, Rwanda is not the only place in Africa where an armed conflict is causing fratricidal strife. In Somalia, Liberia and Angola, civil wars continues to rage, despite the tireless efforts of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to restore peace and concord in place of hatred and war between brothers. We hope the citizens of those countries will heed the voice of reason and will agree to safeguard their interests and the right of their peoples to enjoy peace and security. This objective can be achieved only through responsible and constructive dialogue. Experience has shown that the language of arms cannot lead to valid solutions.

In Mozambique we are following with special interest the various steps expected to lead to the holding of elections on the 27th and 28th of October 1994. We hope those elections will embody the spirit of the peace agreement concluded in October 1992 and that they will be conducted under proper conditions of peace and concord.

The human tragedies that have beset the African continent should not blind us to the positive events that have taken place, such as the triumph of democracy in

South Africa under the presidency of Nelson Mandela and the settlement of the conflict between Libya and Chad. We welcome the representatives of South Africa. Their presence here among us, representing as it does the culmination of a decades-long struggle by all African peoples, is a source of pride and happiness.

On the European continent, which appears to all as the most fertile ground for democracy and respect for human rights, the outright aggression by the Serbs against the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a clear affront to the human conscience. The efforts of the international community over two long years have failed to put an end to the Serbian aggression, which has clearly taken the form of "ethnic cleansing" *vis-à-vis* the Muslims. No serious military effort has been made yet to put an end to the suffering of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who continue to suffer under the embargo that denies them the arms needed for self-defence. Indeed, it is high time the United Nations discharged its full responsibilities under the Charter and used all necessary means, including armed force, to put an end to that terrible tragedy in line with the principles of the Charter and the Organization's responsibility to maintain peace.

In 1995 we will be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of our Organization. That commemoration should make it possible for us to take stock of the progress made over half a century and to devise better plans and programmes to deal with future problems. Two other events of major importance will take place in the same year and will have to do with the search for solutions to major problems which are still pending: the World Summit for Social Development and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. We hope the results of those two meetings will coalesce with the outcome of the negotiations which aim at reforming the Security Council so that the Organization will be equipped with the necessary structures that would enable it to deal with the challenges of the twenty-first century.

Today more than ever, the peoples of the world are making the United Nations the repository of all their hopes, and the Organization must ensure the maintenance of peace and promote cooperation for development at one and the same time. By so doing our Organization would crystallize humanity's aspirations to a world of peace and stability and would then become a true crucible where all nations joined their efforts to bring forth an era of freedom, democracy and respect for human rights.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon, His Excellency Mr. Fares Boueiz.

Mr. Boueiz (Lebanon) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: We are gathered here today, in a new session of the General Assembly, in a new year in the life of the United Nations, one that will take us to the end of the first half century of its existence, which we shall celebrate next year.

Half a century will have passed since the birth of a great dream, a dream that humanity envisaged as an endeavor for peace, reconciliation, solidarity, rapprochement, and dialogue amongst peoples of different ethnic origins and cultures across continents, a dialogue amongst nations, States, ideologies, religions, and creeds of this world, with all its differences and singularities.

Through this great dream, humanity wanted to create an arbiter, a referee on right, justice, and peace, and a forum in which it could discuss its problems and seek arbitration; in which it could find a way to defend rights when rights are denied, to defend itself when injustice prevails, and a champion that would stand by its side when it is threatened.

Through this dream, mankind sought to put an end to wars and armed conflicts, to protect the sovereignty of nations, and to guarantee respect for their independence and free choice.

Thus, the United Nations came into existence.

The United Nations was born; and along with it, a great project emerged - one that was expected to contribute to the solution of the world's crises. Alongside the Organization, its political, security, social, economic, and cultural organs were set up. The peoples of the world expected a lot from those organs, and treated them accordingly, with a deference commensurate with their standing.

The will of this prestigious world body, which represents the position, the decision, and the will of the world's peoples, is more comprehensive than the will of any individual State, no matter how great and powerful it may be. The peoples of the world looked up to it and accorded it the respect normally granted to the defenders of right and justice. Right and justice supersede political interests, no matter how strong they may be.

How far away are we today from this dream, from this great endeavour, from all those intentions, slogans, ambitions, aspirations, ideals and prospects?

Where is peace in the world, when battlefronts are widespread? What have we done about the resolution of conflicts while conflicts escalate? What about the elimination of violence which is still on the ascendance? How far away are we today from protecting what is right; from upholding the sovereignty of nations which is still undermined; from respecting human rights and the rights of peoples and States which are still being trampled?

What have we done about the resolutions adopted by this very Organization, in this very General Assembly Hall? What about the resolutions that await implementation, and the many others that await adoption, and are knocking about in the labyrinths of impotence and deals? How far away are we today from the credibility and authority of our resolutions, from the one single standard by which we should judge things?

I beg your indulgence for daring to voice these questionings. I beg your indulgence, because they are voiced by a State which is not privileged to be a member of the club of powerful nations which dare to question the United Nations.

I beg your indulgence, because those who need the United Nations are not the powerful and the influential. The United Nations was not created for them. It was created for the oppressed, for the unjustly treated, for those who are not powerful by any means.

The small size of States and the humble size of their populations have never been the true yardstick by which their role and contribution should be measured. Many nations have had a history larger than their geography, a role larger than their size, and a contribution far greater than the potential of others. Lebanon is one of those States.

We have existed for thousands of years, ever since humanity first organized itself into entities. We have had our political, cultural, economic, legal, and humanistic structures ever since.

Mr. Lopes da Rosa (Guinea-Bissau), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Side by side with its Phoenician civilization, Lebanon embraced Pharaonic, Mesopotamian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Arab, and Western civilizations. Our foremost contribution was to give mankind its first alphabet. We have also enriched it with our legal, intellectual, cultural, economic, scientific, educational and humanistic contributions.

We were present when the United Nations was born. We were also present when the International Court of Justice issued its first opinion, and we contributed to its making. We volunteered to work in all the United Nations organs and programmes at all levels. We shouldered our share of responsibility by hosting some of them, and by offering them the best of our men and intellectuals.

Social and cultural pluralism was our national hallmark. In our composition, we were able to develop an abridged formula for multicultural nation States. The principle of state-building in the post-First World War era was based on nationalities and ethnic origins. But today in the era of communications super-highways, in the era of ever-increasing demographic mobility, we have come to recognize that this principle, when put to the test, has failed.

While attempts have been made through the years to obliterate the distinctive identities of peoples living under certain regimes - as in the case of the Soviet Union during the Stalin era - those identities have resurfaced, as have the problems which resulted from the attempt at their suppression.

If Lebanon were an almost unique case in the past, given the pluralistic features of its society, it is no longer so today. The Lebanese experience has become commonplace, as we have come to witness through the now commonplace demographic movement of populations and the lowering of geopolitical barriers. While our formula has been tested, many countries are still in the experimental stage.

With the demise of the theory of nationalism, there is need for a new system, one that allows for the coexistence of different cultures and identities under the roof of one homeland, as dictated by modern economic, technological, and practical challenges and needs.

Lebanon, its land and its people have had to suffer the ravages of regional and international conflicts, the vagaries of hurricanes of international ideological differences and their complications. But, as ever in our history, we have been able to prove that we have the

ability to rise to the challenges that face us and that our formula for coexistence is much stronger than some people may have believed, merely because it is the only feasible and practicable one.

When Lebanon was able to overcome the wars waged by others on its soil, armed with the will of its people and the support of its brethren and friends; when Lebanon enhanced its internal security and stability, reactivated its national dialogue and tore down the barriers between its various factions and forces; and when Lebanon started to rebuild its institutions, rehabilitate its infrastructures and embark upon its political and economic endeavours, it proved once again that its time-honoured existence could not be wiped out and that it was too strong to be eliminated.

But Lebanon's full sovereignty over all its territories and its total independence will remain compromised so long as major parts of its soil are not under its control and so long as the State remains unable to extend its full sovereignty over all its national soil through its own legitimate national forces.

So long as Israel occupies Lebanon's territories, despite repeated United Nations resolutions and the will of the international community; so long as Lebanese citizens are still languishing in Israeli detention camps, ignored by the international community and out of the reach of the humanitarian organizations that are not allowed to visit them; so long as this continues, the wounds will not heal and the blood shall not be stanched.

So long as that occupation continues over more than one eighth of our national territory; so long as Israeli raids continue to sow the land daily with bombs, mines and booby traps - killing mainly our innocent children; so long as these criminal acts continue against a heroic people that refuses to surrender, the cries of our women and children will continue to haunt the world along with our cries of anger, revolt and resistance.

Until now, the occupation has failed to contain this anger, regardless of the means employed. Day after day, the death toll rises, ours and theirs. Blood flows in Southern Lebanon and in the Beka'a Valley. No technological invention, no matter how ingenious, and no technique of war have been able to undermine our people's determination to regain its independence, freedom, sovereignty and peace.

There are over 300 Lebanese men and women still languishing in Israeli prisons. Some have died; others have been disabled. In their prison cells, they hear about a theory called "human rights", one that tops the agendas of our meetings and forums. Theorists are preoccupied over the rights of flora, fauna and the environment while our prisoners wonder to which class they belong and under which category they are classified.

So long as the international community addresses the world's problems by using more than one standard; so long as Security Council resolutions remain unimplemented; and so long as Chapter VII of the Charter is applied selectively to troublemakers who lack any kind of protection, we cannot be deemed faithful to the true mission of the United Nations.

We have waited so long for the international community to show some real interest. We have also waited impatiently for the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978), only to see the Council refrain from condemning the aggression rather than enforce its resolutions. When it does condemn, the condemnation applies equally to the aggressor and the aggressed under the pretext of supporting the peace process.

We were invited to the Madrid Peace Conference. We were optimistic about the invitation, the content and the sponsorship. The co-sponsors were super-Powers and the Conference was to be convened on the basis of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace, anchored in the principle of "land for peace" and on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 425 (1978) respectively. We accepted advice to join in that mechanism. By accepting the invitation, we accepted the content. We were expected to discuss mechanisms and schedules.

Three years have passed since the convening of the Madrid Conference. Months followed upon each other's heels in waiting, time and again, for parliamentary elections, for presidential elections, for the appropriate moment on the local level and for circumstances aimed at improving the position of one side while isolating or cornering the other side.

Three years have passed, and our tour of world capitals is almost complete. From Madrid to Washington, to Paris, to Oslo and to Moscow. We are still discussing the basic principles which should have been settled the very first moment the Conference was

convened. The principle of "land for peace" still awaits the definition of the land concept. The principle of withdrawal is still unclear, since in the way that it is proposed, it still means occupation under different forms.

The principle of negotiating land for peace, which presupposes equality in the negotiating positions, is preempted by pressuring the Arab negotiator so that he is left with nothing to offer. Resistance must stop - so we are told - without any guarantee of withdrawal or liberation. The boycott must end, but no guarantees are given for the recovery of the usurped rights. We must enter the multilateral negotiations without knowing whether or not there will be peace and what the form and content of that peace will be. We are asked to celebrate and to shake hands without knowing what it is we are celebrating. We are required to take into account the local public opinion of others; we have to reassure that public opinion of others as if we ourselves do not have a public opinion to convince and as if we do not have our own sceptics who question our opting for peace.

Yes, we the victims of aggression are required to give security guarantees to the aggressor. Those without weapons are required to reassure those who possess nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons. Yes, we entered the negotiations for peace - an honourable peace, not a guilty one; a balanced peace, not a lopsided one; a just peace, not an unjust one; a comprehensive peace, not a partial one; a genuine peace, not a festive one; an equitable peace, not a biased one; a natural peace, not an artificial one; a permanent peace, not a temporary one; a peace of the people, not of regimes; a peace that makes us proud, not ashamed; a peace of loyalty to, not betrayal of our martyrs.

We want a peace that allows for the return of refugees, rather than consecrates their dispersion; a peace that satisfies the revolutionary, instead of provoking him; a peace from which we draw strength; a peace we can protect; a peace that will, once and for all, relieve the world of this burden, the burden of our region; a peace that will put an end to exporting anger; a peace of prosperity, development, and stability; a peace that will allow our widows to cease their mourning.

The days when the problems of peoples were confined to their own countries are over. The days when geographic and political boundaries were a barrier between peoples are over. Our era is one of interdependence and of communication. It is an era of the lowering of all barriers. No country is too remote. No matter how far removed from the area of conflict, it will still be affected by that conflict and by the demographic problems that do not recognize boundaries or borders, unless such problems are stemmed at the source.

We can always be subject to nuclear, chemical and bacteriological pollution, since there are no boundaries in the atmosphere. The environment can very well become contaminated, because the mountains cannot stop the wind from blowing, and nature cannot stop rivers from flowing.

We will all be affected, whenever and wherever a disaster strikes. We are all concerned about the world's security, its stability, prosperity, resources, needs, requirements, markets and citizens, wherever they may be.

The Middle East must not forever remain a fiery volcano that threatens the peace of the world around it, challenges international security, and destabilizes the world economy. It must not remain the source of the world's anger and resentment.

Let there be no more occupied territories, no more acts of aggression, no more prisoners languishing in the prisons. Let there be no more blood flowing through the land of the prophets. Let no more darkness prevail in the cradle of God's religions.

This region will not enjoy more favorable opportunities than those that exist today. Time will not be forever on the side of those who seek peace. Our region must produce visionaries, as it has always done, and not manipulators of peace.

Our congratulations to you, Sir, on the assumption of the presidency of this session of the General Assembly cannot come from the heart in isolation of what we expect from the United Nations during your presidency. The efforts of the Secretary-General cannot be viewed or appreciated outside the scope of our view of the United Nations. May God guide you and illuminate your path in the service of world peace to which Lebanon is dedicated and for which it fights.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile, His Excellency Mr. Jose Miguel Insulza.

Mr. Insulza (Chile) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: May I first congratulate you, Sir, on your election to preside over our work.

I wish you every success in your presidency, and assure you that you may rely on the full cooperation of the delegation of Chile.

I wish also to greet the Secretary-General and to assure him once again of our support in the performance of his difficult task. When he visited Chile a few days after the inauguration of President Eduardo Frei, the Secretary-General had an opportunity to appreciate our readiness to cooperate in the activities of the United Nations system, in the conviction that multilateral action was essential to the strengthening of international peace and security and to the improvement of the living conditions of men and women the world over.

The fall of the ideological barriers imposed by the cold war gave rise to expectations of an era of peace and global security. These expectations are strengthened by the spread of democracy and the emergence of a new awareness of the importance of human rights throughout the world. At the same time, the processes of globalization and economic interdependence are creating new opportunities for progress and making the dissemination of technology and knowledge more feasible.

Nevertheless, five years after the end of the cold war we must acknowledge that the reality has fallen far short of our dreams. The last decade of this century is one of uncertainty and contradictions. Regrettably, along with the signs of hope there has been a re-emergence of many economic, political, ethnic, religious and cultural conflicts and a tendency towards fragmentation and differentiation, which pose new threats to the peace and new challenges for the international order.

This process of transition has enhanced the role of the United Nations as the guarantor of world peace and security. It has compelled our Organization to assume new responsibilities, both in negotiations for conflict prevention and in operations for the maintenance or restoration of peace.

Nevertheless, the immediate concern to maintain peace and security should not prevent us from recognizing and attacking the root causes of these conflicts. Poverty, inequality between individuals and between nations, environmental deterioration, unemployment and ignorance, over-population, disorganized migration, and discrimination against women and young people are today as important factors in creating conflict as is military proliferation or ideological confrontation - if not more so. Tackling these problems requires using the imagination, creativity and solidarity of the international community, as well as resources as large as or even larger than those being spent today on resolving conflicts that have already begun. The security of human beings must be an international priority along with widespread promotion of respect for human rights.

In March of this year a new phase in the Chilean democratic process began with the installation of the Government of President Eduardo Frei. The continuity of this process has made it possible to strengthen the stability of democratic institutions and has increased respect for human rights in the country. Of course, we do not claim that our democracy is perfect; many aspects of it still require further attention, and with that in mind draft legislation on institutional changes is currently being discussed in the National Congress. Nevertheless, we are certain that, together with the other countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, Chile will continue to advance along the path of political stability, democratic institutionality and respect for human rights.

Our recent economic experience has been successful. Since the return of democracy we have had an average annual growth of more than 6.5 per cent with a very low unemployment rate and controlled inflation. On the basis of these facts the Government has formulated an ambitious modernization strategy focusing on three main areas: education and training, development of infrastructure, and modernization of the State. The reforms in education seek to respond to the need for effective and creative integration of young people into society, and to meet the challenge of competitiveness. The changes in the functioning of the State entail a special concern for ethics and probity in the exercise of power.

Attainment of these priorities should enable us to raise our productivity and increase our capacity to compete in international markets in the context of a growing open economy. We are concerned at the difficulty the major countries are nevertheless experiencing in opening up their economies in sectors that are vital to the equitable functioning of world trade. We reject an international trade system based on protectionism by the powerful directed against those who are prepared to accept competition.

Nevertheless, economic advances would lack meaning if they did not lead to a substantial improvement in the living conditions of the majority of Chileans. The Government recognizes this and has made the elimination of extreme poverty an essential priority of its programme. Without equity, growth would lose its *raison d'être* and stability would be threatened by the tensions arising out of the privations experienced by large sectors of the population. Economic growth and social justice constitute two terms of a single equation.

Latin America and the Caribbean are our natural frame of reference and external action as a region that shares both political and security interests and major economic interests. The region has overcome the political, institutional and economic crisis which afflicted it in earlier decades. Most countries of the continent have recently held elections, or will do so in the coming months. The tranquillity, openness and participatión that today characterize these processes are convincing proof that Latin America has embarked on a major process of modernization and stability.

Along with this has come a major expansion of cooperation and regional integration. Integration initiatives and mechanisms of varying geographical coverage and thematic scope have multiplied. Chile has participated in these efforts, negotiating economic complementarity and free-trade agreements with the majority of the countries in the region. In the immediate future, Chile hopes to be able to make a new contribution to the creation of a broad Latin American economic area by achieving closer links with the Common Market of the Southern Cone and by signing complementarity agreements with Ecuador and Peru to add to those already concluded with Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, Bolivia and Colombia.

We also view with enthusiasm the strengthening of our links with the Central American and Caribbean countries with which we have significantly expanded our political and economic relations and cooperation.

We wish to promote a climate of peace, dialogue, solidarity and mutual trust among the countries of the region. We are sure that today this is more possible than before, given the presence in the region of more democratic regimes than it has ever had in its history.

In this context, the Rio Group has become a significant regional political cooperation mechanism, and its activity has recently expanded to cover economic coordination aspects. The strengthening of the Rio Group, which emerged from our continent's re-democratization and resurgence, is a key to Latin American's ability to speak with a unified voice in the new international context. That is how our main partners in the world, with whom we meet periodically in discussion forums to which we are attaching increasing importance, perceive it.

Our policy towards Latin America and the Caribbean is fully compatible with closer integration into world markets. Chile today is a country that is open to the world, dependent for 40 per cent of its gross national product on external transactions and seeking to strengthen its relations with the dynamic centres of growth and technological information. We define our policy as an open regionalism, one which seeks regional integration not in order to close its markets but in order to achieve greater integration into the world economy.

In this connection, our preference for multilateralism is well known. We support all the phases of the extensive negotiations under the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and are now in the process of ratifying the agreements reached there.

Our attitude in this respect matches that of our main partners in Latin America. During the eight years for which the Uruguay Round lasted the countries of the region unilaterally reduced their tariffs by an average of more than 50 per cent and contributed by making significant concessions, despite the fact that not all the objectives they were seeking to negotiate were achieved.

Accordingly, we now have the right to call for the results of the Round to be implemented and, once the World Trade Organization has been established, for progress to be made in discussion of the many problems the Round left pending, especially in relation to agriculture and services.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that in the current phase of the world economy multilateralism is being accompanied by the negotiation of partial or regional economic agreements which are progressively extending over a large part of international trading activity. Hence our interest in the integration progress in North America, our search for sounder and more imaginative patterns of economic relations with the European Union, our imminent entry into the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (APEC) and our constant readiness,

shared with our region, to move ahead with economic cooperation with all regions of the world.

Current international circumstances have led to progress in various areas which it is important to emphasize: the defeat of racism and apartheid, progress in disarmament, the solution of international conflicts, cooperation and *détente* - all issues which have led to the strengthening of the world Organization.

Chile salutes the people and the Government of the new South Africa in the person of President Nelson Mandela and welcomes the success achieved by the United Nations and by the South African people themselves in building a democratic and just South Africa which respects the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

We wish also to express our support for the peace and negotiation process under way in Angola and Mozambique. We urge the rebel forces in both countries to negotiate seriously and in good faith to end this conflict, in compliance with United Nations resolutions. In the case of Angola, the date of 30 September set by the President of the Security Council for the ending of the negotiations is approaching, and it is accordingly essential to arrive at a speedy solution on the basis of the "Acordos de Paz".

Let me also express our satisfaction at the progress made through the agreements between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, which are overcoming obstacles to the attainment of a lasting peace throughout the Middle East. On behalf of my country, I wish to reiterate our support for the negotiations under way between Israel and Jordan, as well as those between Israel and Lebanon and between Israel and Syria.

In contrast to these positive steps, we view with great concern the tragedy in Rwanda, horrified at its magnitude and at the inability of the international community to contain it. Chile conducted a national campaign of solidarity with the children of Rwanda which met with an extremely good response in our country. The risk is that, if efforts are not made to eliminate the deep-lying causes of tragedies such as this, other similar sources of tension may arise in other countries, testing the capacity of our system to react.

Likewise, we cannot fail to express our most profound concern at and most energetic rejection of the extremes to which the fratricidal struggle in the former Yugoslavia has been taken. We urge the warring parties to abandon the use of force as a means of solving their disputes and to submit them to the internationally recognized peaceful means of settlement.

Chile is also profoundly concerned at the situation in Haiti resulting from the protracted usurpation of power and the non-implementation of the Governors Island agreements. The military occupation of a country is always a regrettable occurrence that we should all like to avoid. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that in this instance such action was taken on the basis of a Security Council resolution and in response to repeated failure to comply with international commitments, failure for which the Haitian military alone are responsible.

We reiterate in this Assembly our support for the measures taken by the United Nations and, in particular, our full acceptance of the resolution adopted by the Security Council. The Government of Chile will fulfil its commitments to participate in the reconstruction of Haiti, in the manner agreed upon with the democratic Government of that country, as soon as institutional order has been restored.

Chile has cooperated in peace-keeping operations, and it has recently expressed its readiness to expand that cooperation, in the profound conviction that improving the capacity of the United Nations system in these efforts is a priority task. The current bureaucratic mechanisms, which place a very heavy burden on the countries providing peace-keeping contingents, must be replaced by others that will make it possible to provide the United Nations with the best in human resources and equipment. It is essential to reach agreement on a statute for protection of United Nations personnel and to create an international fund to administer the financing of peace-keeping operations.

The new impetus in international disarmament negotiations, particularly with respect to a nuclear-test-ban treaty, increases the need for a global, democratic and participatory approach in this area. There is an urgent need to increase the membership of the Conference on Disarmament - the only major multilateral negotiating forum on these topics - to make it sufficiently representative and enable it to respond appropriately to the new challenges.

Chile considers that prohibiting the use of fissionable materials for hostile purposes and universalizing security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States would be positive steps in the direction of nuclear disarmament. Nevertheless, their success would depend on full acceptance of inspection and verification

procedures. In step with progress in the substantive negotiations, a need is making itself felt to extend and expand safeguards and control regimes until they become universal, without thereby impeding the access of developing countries to sources of science and technology.

The recent ratification of the Treaty of Tlatelolco by Chile, Argentina and Brazil, as well as Cuba's decision to sign it, will enable Latin America to become a genuine nuclear-weapon-free zone. This, together with the manifest reduction in tension and armaments in the region, constitutes an effective contribution by our region to world peace.

In this context, we have indicated our interest in becoming a member of the Security Council for the period beginning 1996. We have done so convinced that Chile can legitimately and adequately represent the interests of Latin America and the Caribbean in that important body.

We can and must make substantive progress in designing better systems for preventing conflicts or taking immediate action to restore peace. But, unless we simultaneously attack the enormous inequalities and privations that lie at the root of many conflicts we shall not significantly reduce international tensions. The origins of these tensions lie in the exclusion of major sectors of the world's population from the benefits of the new order, an exclusion aggravated by population growth and by the characteristics of the new world economy, for when factors such as knowledge and technology come to outweigh others, such as the availability of raw materials or low-cost labour, the hopes of those who possess only an abundance of the latter are increasingly disappointed, thus widening and deepening the social gaps within and between countries.

From a bitter past, Chile has learned the lesson of the close relationship that exists between peace, democracy, economic growth and social development. The central objective of a security policy is the security of individuals and of the communities in which they live. The accentuation of inequality or exclusion is not only ethically unacceptable, but also politically dangerous. No new international order will be stable or lasting if it is based on the exclusion of the majority of those who comprise it.

We are convinced that the absence of democracy and the lack of economic growth centred on the human being are at the root of the international instability that characterizes our era. President Frei has spoken of a "diplomacy for development", referring in these terms to the necessity to adjust foreign policy to the objectives and needs of each country and to the link that must necessarily exist between our international action and our internal objective of growth with equity. We therefore attach the greatest importance to the Agenda for Development that is under discussion in the United Nations.

This was the thinking behind the convening of the World Summit for Social Development, unanimously approved by the General Assembly. The analysis by Heads of State and Government in Copenhagen next March should lead us to a new policy to combat poverty, promote employment and accelerate social integration. In particular, we believe that the social Summit should adopt a common commitment to eradicate extreme poverty in the world through a concrete and efficient plan of action. What is decided there will be intimately linked to the conditions of security and coexistence in the emerging international order.

The social Summit, together with the recent Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo, the World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing in 1995, and the Secretary-General's proposed Agenda for Development, indicates the growing interest that this Organization is taking in social issues.

Chile intends to comply with the agreements reached at the Rio de Janeiro Summit and to promote a new policy on environmental issues. In this context, its National Congress recently approved the Convention on Biological Diversity, and our ratification has just been deposited with the United Nations. In turn, we are convinced that environmental problems will remain unresolved, and may even become exacerbated, if the necessary resources are not available to deal with them through joint action by developed and developing countries. This is becoming increasingly apparent in some developing countries, where poverty is accelerating environmental deterioration as a result of the excessive and uncontrolled use of certain resources.

The dual task of maintaining peace and at the same time creating conditions for the elimination of structural sources of conflict is an enormous challenge to this Organization. Nevertheless, we are convinced that if we do not take up the challenge we shall reach the beginning of the next millennium without having laid the real foundations for a new international order that will permit the peaceful coexistence of mankind.

Taking up this challenge is not a task for the major Powers alone, although their involvement is essential; rather, it is a task for all nations capable of making a contribution - especially the medium-sized countries, which make up a large part of the international community.

Chile is prepared to be a part of this effort, as are, we are sure, all the countries of Latin America. The central role of this Organization must be strengthened and supported in the crucial years that lie ahead, for this is the only way to ensure that the settlement of conflicts does not alter international legality, that arbitrary intervention is prevented and that the rights of the weakest are respected.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The next speaker is His Excellency Mr. Benjamin Bounkoulou, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie of the Congo.

Mr. Bounkoulou (Congo) *(interpretation from French)*: At this forty-ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the African continent has every right to feel honoured in this great body. Through the brilliant election of its President, our Assembly has paid a tribute to the merits and the qualities of a great African diplomat. I would add that above and beyond the recognition so richly deserved by his country, Côte d'Ivoire, for its contribution to peace, we also find in his election a posthumous tribute to its founder, President Houphouët Boigny, that unforgettable monument of modern-day Africa. I would like to extend to our President the warmest congratulations of the Congolese delegation and to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to his predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally, Ambassador of Guyana, who served as President at the forty-eighth session with such great competence and skill.

My congratulations go also to our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who since becoming the leader of our Organization has endeavoured with such dedication to bring our Member States closer to the purposes and principles of the Charter. On behalf of the Congolese people, I would like to reiterate to this humble servant of mankind our most earnest encouragement as he discharges his lofty responsibilities.

Many peace-keeping and goodwill missions of the United Nations are currently to be found on African soil. We welcome this necessary assistance, while we hope that the peoples concerned will do even better in fostering conditions for a return to peace.

Finally, how can one not feel overcome with joy at the triumphant welcome given the return of the Republic of South Africa to the commonwealth of free nations? This return, which puts the finishing touches on the liberation of the African continent from colonialism and racism, is surely a source of legitimate satisfaction for the Members of the United Nations who devoted so much energy and so many resources in the battle of the South African people against apartheid. To the delegation of that country that embodies the hopes of an entire continent, I would like to extend a warm, fraternal welcome.

At the beginning of this forty-ninth session the Assembly faces a complicated situation that combines real reasons for satisfaction with extremely worrisome issues. A marked trend towards dialogue and cooperation in search of solutions to the problems that confront our world encourages our desire for a new system of international relations that would be more humane and more just. The United Nations has to its credit many achievements in the restoration and creation of peace. Conflicts that have been solved or are in the process of being solved give, little by little, faith and confidence in the future, indeed I would say to life, to those peoples who have been subjugated by despair, if not by the disturbing resurgence of civil wars, ethnic tensions and religious crusades.

The abolition of apartheid in South Africa, which seemed impossible yesterday, is a reality today, as if to grant the wishes of the international community and to reward the strictures of the United Nations, a peaceful transition has given birth to a united, democratic and non-racist South Africa.

A peaceful settlement to the question of the Aouzou strip has rid Central Africa of a fratricidal conflict. I hope the example of Libya and Chad will inspire other States as well.

Firmly and resolutely, the dynamic of peace begun in the Middle East is growing stronger and is opening prospects for cooperation to peoples long ruined by war and yet fated by geography and history to live together. This is why, in hailing the significant progress achieved in this process, the Republic of the Congo hopes that we will see rapid progress in the Arab-Israeli negotiations with a view to the establishment of a thorough, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

But the hope offered by the progress that has been achieved remains frustrated by the persistence of local wars that continue their bloodshed in various parts of the world. Political differences and ethnic, racial or religious diversity, far from enriching society, have elicited intolerance, hatred, violence and, worst of all, the destruction of what is most precious to us all: human life. From Bosnia to Angola, the similarities are striking. Of these crises that conceal several basic questions, we see that a record number are in Africa: Angola, Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda ...

The Republic of the Congo remains greatly concerned about the situation in its sister republic and neighbour Angola. We deplore the continuation of this fratricidal, murderous war, sustained by the intransigence and rigidity of UNITA. The Congolese Government supports all peace efforts undertaken by the international community in the attempt to settle the conflict peacefully, especially as part of the Lusaka negotiations: negotiations in which Angola has made very constructive proposals that show the determination of President Dos Santos and his Government to find a solution that might take into account all the political sensibilities of that country. My country would like to reiterate its wish to see Angolans finally reach understanding and reconciliation, so that they can devote their energies to the rebuilding of their country, torn apart by a war that has lasted far too long.

With regard to Liberia, we hope that the recent signing in Ghana of the cease-fire agreement by the various protagonists will lead to better prospects for that country.

The genocide we have seen in Rwanda, another sad chapter in the history of mankind, is only the most extreme and inhuman manifestation of the problems facing Africa today. Violence, poverty, famine, disease, refugees, spiralling population growth - such is the widespread image of contemporary Africa. This well-known, gloomy picture no doubt stems from a habitual pessimism rather than from a thorough study of reality.

The increase in the inequality between the richest and the poorest countries has grown more complex with the emergence of worldwide markets, trade, communications - even, unfortunately, pollution. Africa, long relegated to the background, seems to have combined all the social pathologies that inexorably strike ever-growing and ever-poorer populations. In our underdeveloped countries, chronic indebtedness and the drop in the prices of our basic commodities, compounded by the pernicious reduction in public aid for development and investments that continue to ignore our legislation, however attractive and liberal it may be, are worsening the disappearance of sources of financing and development.

Here growth is slow to appear, whereas early signs already herald the beginnings of expansion in the world economy. The unemployed population is increasing, and workers are under a constant uncertainty. As if to complete this picture, natural disasters - drought and desertification - compete with epidemics such as AIDS and malaria. Infections we thought to have eradicated are reappearing.

The President returned to the Chair.

In this context of a disastrous economy, a population explosion has eliminated any hope of redressing the imbalance between an almost zero economic growth rate and a population growth rate that is out of control. This situation has destroyed all our efforts at recovery.

Congo, for its part, has not escaped this common destiny. The socio-political crisis which has shaken my country to its very foundations and brought great grief to many Congolese families has to a large extent torn the social fabric and has completely ruined our economy. This crisis has at least had the merit of destroying many illusions.

We had thought - or pretended to think - that it was enough simply to copy the old Western democracies and hold free elections under international supervision to ensure that democracy prospered, that it was unnecessary to take local realities into account.

Surely the European Parliament learned a bitter lesson from its failure, because it said to the new democracies that peoples and Governments should find formulas which would enable them to create democratic, lawful institutions based on their own history and cultural identity.

How can we claim that in two years' time we have done away with the ills of 30 years of badly assimilated Marxist-Leninist culture, a culture which was fundamentally hostile to pluralistic democracy and fundamentally opposed to individual growth. And what should we say of the harmful effects of so many years of Marxist management of an economy that is today doomed because of that failure?

Congo's economy today is suffering from the disastrous consequences of ill-advised economic policies, which has given my country the honour of being placed among the most indebted countries in the world. In addition to this economic bankruptcy we find the waste, the ruin of our cultural and moral values, and a breakdown of the innate genius of our people.

Insidious and pernicious, destitution and poverty have crept into the private lives of men and women, every day becoming more numerous, men and women who to survive must hide behind the ultimate bulwark of ethnicity, which has become a factor for segregation and division.

Made idle and vulnerable, and subjected to chronic unemployment, our youth are now indulging in the illusion of drugs and the armed defence of dubious causes.

Thus, we see the scope of the consequences of so many harmful factors in a society where people have lost all sense of perspective. Violence then becomes the outlet for venting all sorts of political, economic and social frustrations.

The outbreaks of violence in the Congo are the most absurd manifestation of this. We must rely on our traditional values to revive our dedication to dialogue and peace and hence realize how vain such extreme behaviour is - indeed, nothing more than human folly.

We have given new life to the democratic process; we have started all over again. This is a process redirected towards democratic transition, the first stage of power-sharing; it is the result of a policy of administrative decentralization, one of the foundations of the development programme of President Pascal Lissouba. Today leaders of the opposition are mayors of Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire - the main cities in the country - and are thereby making their contribution to the national recovery.

Congo's experience highlights the challenges facing the new democracies, in particular young African democracies, which in order to build one nation must emerge from the condition of multi-ethnic States and one-party or feudal systems and pass on to full democracy with its corollary, a market economy.

In order to meet these challenges, Congo has opted for a programme of economic and social recovery that is already under way. The programme involves the relaunching of our country's development.

Our bitter experience has led us to conclude that we must give pride of place to the economy in order to safeguard the young and fragile Congolese democracy and give it a solid basis, especially taking into account the crucial needs of our peoples, our own values and geopolitical realities.

To fulfil this objective, the programme involves in its initial phase a structural adjustment programme concluded with the Bretton Woods institutions, a programme we are determined to carry out successfully in spite of the enormous sacrifices this will entail for our people. This must be done because we are determined to stimulate development and to revive hope among our people. We are banking on relaunching progress, but Congo cannot succeed alone. Africa is our salvation.

Indeed, it is in the integration and complementarity of our economies that we should try to find solutions so that we can emerge from the grave economic and social crisis that has engulfed our countries, and especially relaunch our growth and development. Let us hope that the African States will be able to create the conditions for this complementarity, especially through the use of science and technology.

This initiative gives a good idea of the crucial importance of the establishment of the African Economic Community. But in order to succeed this endeavour requires human as well as financial resources. In this connection, the international community is called upon to give resolute help to our countries in their efforts to find competent men and women who can promote development by their know-how, in the appropriate institutions.

Development and the effective use of human resources are a decisive factor for the socio-economic development of our African continent. That is why, guided by this requirement of development, the Congolese Government has established the Panafrican Institute of Management and Innovation to train people in the management of resources, including human resources.

For the initiator of this project, His Excellency President Pascal Lissouba, development cannot be defined solely in terms of growth; it must also be defined in terms of the ability to master the art of management.

The second requirement of this endeavour is to fund it. In this connection, we are not relying only on financial resources - that is, a massive influx of capital

into our poor economies. The economies would still have to be able to digest such capital.

Above and beyond the generation of financial flows to our countries, what Africa needs above all is the establishment of a financial instrument, whose machinery would be brought into harmony with the other, existing instruments of international cooperation. This financial instrument, with the support of all the African countries, would obtain appropriate support from the international community, especially the Bretton Woods institutions.

Thus, the African Development Bank is in our view the best institution to deal with the financial aspect and, furthermore, to study a system for funding science and technology for development. Today more than ever before, science and technology are part and parcel of development; they are requirements of development.

The favourable developments in the world political situation have given rise to the hope that a new era of peace will give the United Nations the role that its founders intended it to play.

Everything - or almost everything - would seem to augur well for a new world order: an outpouring of freedom and democracy; a revival of the universal awareness of human rights; and the pre-eminence of the United Nations in resolving issues linked to international peace, development and security.

Unfortunately, the psychosis of nuclear apocalypse characteristic of the cold war has given way to a violent, deadly expression of freedom and of local wars in a large number of developing countries, especially in Africa. We have already stated that economic frustration is at the root of these events. Therefore, peace and security in our States and throughout the world require a solution to our people's economic and social problems as well as the transformation of the world economic system with a view to establishing a more just order. It is only then that we can have a true idea of the Agenda for Development and of its capability of meeting the expectations and concerns of the developing countries.

The vagaries of the Rwandan tragedy, especially at the time when the critical decision was taken by the Security Council to withdraw the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), should awaken the conscience of people everywhere and make them pause and reflect. The joint efforts of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) were crystal-clear. The continent-wide organization, through its conflict-prevention, -management and -resolution machinery, had committed itself to continuing these efforts.

My country welcomes the return of United Nations peace-keeping forces to Rwanda after a departure that had left us with the bitter feeling that the decision was inappropriate.

Congo, in spite of its internal difficulties, from the very outset had felt concerned over the Rwandan tragedy. In a manifestation of fraternal solidarity, my country has taken part in all the humanitarian and peace-keeping operations in Rwanda, ranging from the OAU observer mission, UNAMIR I and operation "Turquoise" to today's UNAMIR II.

In drawing conclusions from these tragic events, the 11 States of Central Africa, brought together in the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, have decided to create from among their respective armed forces a single peace-keeping unit. This unit, once set up, will take part in OAU and United Nations peace-keeping operations. Today more than ever, in that part of Africa so sorely tried by instability and civil war, this advisory committee would appear to be a valuable instrument for preventing crises and conflicts and seems deserving of the attention and support of the international community. The recent signing of a non-aggression pact among the States of the subregion is a most concrete example of this.

This framework body for joint efforts for subregional peace and security, which my country will host in March and August 1995, will help, we are convinced, to prevent crises and conflicts and thereby lay the foundations for genuine peace and cooperation in Central Africa.

In an international context where we still see certain conflicts, we must acknowledge once again the pre-eminent role of the Security Council, which safeguards international peace and security. The spectacular increase in the membership of the United Nations as well as the emergence of new political and economic forces the world over require an expansion of this body on the basis of equitable geographic representation. In so doing, we would only be abiding by the criterion of universality, which has always guided our Organization and which must be constantly adapted to newly emerging realities.

Our destinies are bound to become increasingly intertwined, our horizons to broaden, and all this in a spirit of diversity, complementarity and solidarity without any will to power or domination. Increased developments in science and technology will result in a globalization of the challenges we must face.

May we be able to make the best possible use of the vast potential open to us, so that our long-suffering peoples will finally see the dawning of the era of peace and prosperity they so legitimately desire.

The meeting rose at 8.10 p.m.

United Nations A/49/PV.7/Corr.1

General Assembly

Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

7th Meeting
Tuesday, 27 September 1994, 3 p.m.
New York

Corrigendum

Page 12, second column, last paragraph

Should read

Reflecting with remorse upon the Second World War, Japan has never wavered from its commitment to contribute to world peace and prosperity. Japan does not, nor will it, resort to the use of force prohibited by its Constitution. Japan will remain resolutely a nation of peace. Neither possessing nuclear arms nor exporting weapons, Japan continues to be actively engaged in

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94-86749 (E)

United Nations A/48/PV.8

General Assembly
Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

8th Meeting
Wednesday, 28 September 1994, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Essy . . . . . (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

Address by Mr. José María Figueres Olsen, Constitutional President of the Republic of Costa Rica

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The Assembly will first hear an address by the Constitutional President of the Republic of Costa Rica.

Mr. José María Figueres Olsen, Constitutional President of the Republic of Costa Rica, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the Constitutional President of the Republic of Costa Rica, His Excellency Mr. José María Figueres Olsen, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Figueres Olsen *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Costa Rica hails and congratulates you most warmly, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. We also wish to thank the Secretary-General, whose untiring efforts have made this an Organization which is daily playing a more dynamic and effective role in the advancement of peace, security and development.

We are Members of an Organization whose name bespeaks hope and dreams - the United Nations; not aligned or groups of nations but one single family of peoples, united in the struggle for peace, human rights and development.

In those dark days of 1945, filled with suffering, hatred and ruin, those who forged the United Nations created an Organization with medium- and long-term objectives. Rather than setting up a transitory league of victors, their vision was to look to the future in unity. They thought not only of themselves; they thought as well of their children and their grandchildren. They also thought of the children of their former adversaries, and thought as well of those who had stayed on the margins of the tragedy.

My country is proud to have been a founding member of this fraternity. It is also proud to say that the ideals of the United Nations live on in the spirit and in the daily lives of our people. And although my country is not wealthy, not powerful, not big, we feel we have honourably served the cause of this Organization both within and beyond our borders.

Despite the limitations inherent in our small and poor country, the Costa Rican people have proved they are capable of dreaming bold dreams and of making those dreams come true. Forty-six years ago, when the United Nations was about to take its first steps and the world was just beginning to emerge from the horrors of the Second World War, a group of men and women of vision in our country began to pursue the dream of a world

94-86433 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178. Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum. When the result of a recorded and/or roll-call vote is followed by an asterisk, see annex to the record.

without wars and armies, and decided that the dream should begin to be made a reality right at home. We thus abolished our army and began a long period of economic growth, accompanied by social well-being and political stability. We became a model of human development in a developing country and a force for the abolition of war and violence in our region. It is through our commitment to making this dream a reality within our own borders that our country has made its most important contribution to the cause of the United Nations.

Today, as humanity stands at a decisive crossroads, the need to build new utopias has become of the utmost urgency. As human beings, we are at our creative best only when we are in pursuit of a dream, when our eyes shine with the gleam of that dream. Given the magnitude of the dangers we face, the international community, now perhaps more than ever before, needs to muster all its energies in pursuit of renewal.

As a people living at the centre of the Americas, we are deeply concerned by the threats hanging over mankind. We are especially concerned about growing tensions between the proponents of social progress and those of the natural environment that supports it. At times, the countries of the world seem to be playing out a macabre global compact for self-destruction. While the production and consumption patterns of the industrialized world are wreaking havoc on nature, poverty in the third world is also causing serious environmental damage. The end result is a rapid deterioration of the natural resource base upon which all of life and society depends, to the point where the very survival of humanity is in jeopardy. With every passing day, awareness is growing of the fact that this absurd path the world has chosen to follow is not sustainable.

Given such a formidable threat, the United Nations once again shines like a beacon of hope for the world. As a forum pooling the energies of the international community, it has already acted resolutely in dealing with the environment. From a variety of vantage points, many of its agencies have launched efforts to preserve and conserve the world's resources and to establish norms of social organization that are compatible with the life cycles of the planet. At the Rio de Janeiro Summit, that decades-long effort of the United Nations in this area was clearly expressed, and the adoption of Agenda 21, along with the conventions on biodiversity and climatic change, which my country has signed, is to a large extent the fruit of the work of the United Nations.

As the community of nations tackles new common challenges, Costa Rica once again affirms its commitment to play a useful role. Aware as we are of our limitations as a small and poor country, we can but offer the best we have. We pledge our land and our collective determination as a contribution to building utopias and keeping hope alive.

We wish to assume our role in these global causes with two reasons in mind: we are committed to the world-wide struggle to ensure the existence and well-being of mankind, and we feel it is urgent for us to provide our people with the kind of development that will make of nature an ally and not an enemy.

Today, we acknowledge that the social and economic progress made in Costa Rica in recent decades was achieved at the expense of a serious deterioration in our environment. Our polluted rivers, our eroded soil and our rapidly disappearing forests are the unfortunate proof. For the future, only sustainable development can offer us continued abundance and growing well-being, generation after generation.

All too often throughout history, human beings have opted for the easy way out - only economic growth, superficial and fleeting change and an irrational exploitation of the environment. Aware as we are of the deplorable results of such an approach, we Costa Ricans wish to rid ourselves of such self-deception. We envisage sustainable development as one that is mindful of the macro-equilibrium that in turn makes long-term development possible - I refer to political stability, social equity, economic balance and harmony with nature.

The enjoyment of peace, democracy and stability in Costa Rica is in large measure because of the sustained investment we have made for decades in education, health and other services to ensure the well-being of our people. By abolishing our army, we have been able to convert military expenditure into expenditure on social programmes and to avoid the threat of stunted development such as often occurs under military dictatorships. Building on these traditions, we are now attaining new and ambitious goals.

To achieve sustainability, major changes are in store for us in our way of life, and to make these changes we will have to set free the energies and the determination of our citizens. That is why we are shifting away from representative democracy and moving towards more complex forms of participatory democracy.

Since we have chosen to pursue sustainable development we are committed to finding medium- and long-term solutions to the cyclical economic imbalances from which we have suffered over the years.

Desirous as we are of changing the ways in which we interact with the natural world, we in Costa Rica have undertaken an ambitious programme based on social consensus, the work of the scientific and technological community and the historical ability of new State institutions to promote development. Decades ago, when the topic of environmental conservation was not yet a key item on the agendas of Governments or international organizations, my country was already working to set up a system of nature conservation areas which today cover one fourth of our national territory and provide protection for virtually all our animal and plant species. Today we are taking yet a further step and endeavouring to arrive at an integrated scheme to combine nature conservation with the productive use of tropical biodiversity. Our goal to live in harmony with nature has helped us to realize that our land was for the most part meant to be forested. The objectives of our programme include improving the net absorption of carbon dioxide through forestation programmes carried out in conjunction with developed countries, the exportation of plant trees and the development of technologies for tropical reforestation. These and other projects are part of a national plan designed to implement all the elements of Agenda 21, adopted at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

In the pursuit of these and other, similar goals we intend to make Costa Rica into a model of sustainable development. Indeed, we hope to become the first developing country to make the leap to sustainable development. Like other dreams we have cherished and realized in the past, through our own efforts and with the help of the international community, this dream is bold and ambitious.

Costa Rica cherishes this aspiration for all of Central America as well. We are committed to our region's efforts to achieve sustainable development, efforts that are today being carried out under a common programme that was agreed to at our recent meetings of Presidents.

During the tragic years of the Central American crisis Costa Rica did not suffer the ravages of war or dictatorship, nor did it see any of its freedoms taken away. Nevertheless, our national development was hampered by the backwardness, injustice and violence that held sway throughout the region. Today, we Costa Ricans reaffirm our conviction that our destiny as a nation is indissolubly linked to that of the other nations of the Isthmus.

Costa Rica vividly remembers and continues to be grateful to the United Nations for its valuable support in bringing peace to our region. We recall the exceptional efforts the Organization made. Its action of solidarity, mobilizing substantial resources and devising specific programmes, was at that time of great benefit to Central America.

Today, the situation is very different. In our region we have put an end to the fratricidal conflicts that bled us for decades and we have ushered in an era of reconciliation, peace and democracy. Today, Central America offers much more fertile ground for ever-higher levels of human development. Today, our peoples are more capable of building a better future for themselves and therefore of establishing mutually beneficial and cooperative relations with international organizations and friendly countries.

Today's watchword is "interdependence". The industrialized countries will be able to maintain their standards of living and levels of production only if they can foster development in the rest of the world. This is why we invite them to forge closer ties of cooperation with us so that Central America's goals can be shared and more easily attained by our countries.

Notwithstanding innumerable difficulties and despite 40 years of cold war and a multitude of conflicts, the United Nations has a record of accomplishment unprecedented in history.

We derive great satisfaction from the imminent fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. Never before in the history of mankind has any joint effort for peace managed to endure so long, and never before has any international effort taken on such universal proportions.

We nevertheless hope that this universality will become total as soon as possible, without any exceptions whatever. Today, Costa Rica would like to reaffirm its strong support for the legitimate aspirations of the Republic of China in Taiwan to take part in the efforts of the United Nations. We believe that the people of that nation must be represented in this family of nations. It is a reality, and it is also an issue that the Organization cannot continue to sidestep.

The impending anniversary is also a good time for us to set a new course for the United Nations so that we can successfully meet new challenges. We consider the ideas on this subject contained in the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace" to be of the utmost importance, and we hope that we will be able to contribute to making them a reality.

"An Agenda for Peace" is a particularly important guide for the international community. Its natural complement, the agenda for development, optimistically reflects mankind's new concerns and offers us great opportunities to work dynamically in building the new millennium.

Indeed, there is a great deal of work before us. Although there is no longer a cold war, although many States have rejected totalitarianism, it is still true that we are faced with the horror of the unfolding tragedy of Rwanda, the aggression being pursued against Bosnia and the resurgence of ethnic and religious fanaticism. We are frustrated to see that the best efforts of the organized international community have not been sufficient to find a way out of the Cuban crisis, in our America.

We feel indignation in the face of the violence and exploitation to which women and children continue to be subjected and alarm at the steady increase in drug trafficking and its occasional ally, terrorism. We are sad to see that hunger and poverty continue to be a daily reality for millions in Africa, Asia and our own Latin America.

These painful realities must not, however, weaken our resolve. Recently we have seen hopeful and bright signals to the effect that things can and should be different. We have witnessed the Republic of South Africa peacefully putting an end to a shameful regime and becoming the mother of all its children, regardless of the color of their skin.

We have seen Israelis, Palestinians and Jordanians together plough furrows of peace through the Holy Land. The first steps have been taken towards reconciliation in Northern Ireland. There are signs of lessening tensions on the Korean peninsula, and we trust that, through negotiations, there will be effective control of North Korea's nuclear programme.

Just a few days ago we saw how the efforts of the international community had finally provided the people of Haiti with a chance of real peace and democracy. Costa Rica would like to make a proposal that it considers basic for human development in Haiti. To this end we ask the United Nations to work with others on a democratization programme, with the gradual and irreversible abolition of the army in that country. The time is ripe for such an initiative; by carrying it out we would protect this long-suffering nation from many future injustices.

Having for many years been committed to the struggle against poverty and underdevelopment, Costa Rica has strong hopes of the World Summit for Social Development, to be held in Denmark next March. My country shares and supports its objectives and will enthusiastically participate in activities at the Summit and afterwards.

We optimistically hail, as part of the restructuring of international relations, the establishment of the World Trade Organization. We are confident that its creation will lead to greater legal consistency in international trade relations, a new era of global economic cooperation and a greater dynamism in trade, as well as higher volumes. For countries such as the banana-producing countries of Latin America, today facing serious problems because of reduced access to markets in the European Union, this new forum will be of particular importance. We are glad that its priority topics include the links between trade policies, environmental policies and sustainable development.

Costa Rica was present in San Francisco to declare its faith in the future of the world. We have been here for half a century, bearing witness to our trust in the United Nations. Today Costa Rica is present again to call on all Member States to continue to look forward, firmly committed to working with still greater dedication for the attainment of the common goal of securing the well-being of our peoples.

We must have faith in the future, but we must work to build it. Let us forge a new spirit in our minds and fill our hearts, and this Organization, with a new kind of feeling. Let us adopt as our own the attitude embodied in the lessons of an old proverb:

> "Fear less and hope more; complain less and breathe more; speak less and say more; hate less and love more; and all good things shall be yours."

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Constitutional President of the Republic of Costa Rica for the statement he has just made.

Mr. José María Figueres Olsen, Constitutional President of the Republic of Costa Rica, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Agenda item 9 *(continued)*

General debate

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The first speaker in the resumed debate is the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, His Excellency Mr. Douglas Hurd, on whom I now call.

Mr. Hurd (United Kingdom): I should like first to congratulate you most warmly, Sir, on your election as President. The Assembly could not have made a wiser choice. I wish you all good fortune and success in your mission.

In a few months we shall commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the United Nations. The United Nations is the fullest expression man has yet achieved of the age-old desire to escape from war and establish an enduring peace.

When the United Nations was founded in San Francisco 50 years ago the threat of nuclear war between the super-Powers had already begun to cast a shadow across the world. That shadow has now lifted, and we all live and sleep more safely as a result. Yet as we approach the anniversary we are all more conscious of the suffering and destruction that still disfigure parts of almost every continent in the world. The threats to international peace and security are more diffuse and perhaps less serious than they were, but not less real and not less tragic for those caught up in them.

To some extent, disappointment comes out of exaggerated expectation. There is still a tendency to think of the United Nations as if it were some great palace of world order which descended splendidly from heaven 50 years ago. If that were our view, then every broken pane of glass in that palace, every door, every pillar fouled or damaged would be a disgrace and a scandal.

But, of course, in reality world order does not descend from heaven at the moment when a Charter is signed. It is not like that at all. World order is built painfully, gradually, brick by brick. Sometimes the wind and the weather destroy what has already been built. But the builders cannot afford to be discouraged - and we are all builders. They have to repair; they have to rebuild; they have to hope that gradually in what they build the advances will outnumber the retreats.

There have been recent advances that have been dramatic - beyond expectation. No one who was present at the Union Buildings in Pretoria this May could fail to be moved at the birth of the new South Africa. The goodwill and the cheerful determination of all South Africans on that occasion were a marvelous refutation, it seemed to me, of the cynicism that so often weakens our work.

And we have seen the same as the peace process gathers strength in the Middle East.

In part of my own country, we may - and I fervently hope we shall - see killings cease, see fears slowly dissolve, as a result of the process started by the British and Irish Governments in the Downing Street Declaration on Northern Ireland.

In Europe - in Cyprus, in the former Yugoslavia, in Georgia -the United Nations has helped at least to contain if not yet to resolve deep-rooted conflicts. The world's most intractable problems continue to be laid at your door, Mr. Secretary-General, like infants laid at the door of some medieval monastery. It is not surprising that, for all the efforts of 77,000 men and women serving in United Nations peace-keeping operations in the field, our Organization has had failures as well as successes to its name.

As is common in our society of mass media, the headlines have been dominated by the reversals, and some of them have indeed been tragic. In Rwanda the efforts of the United Nations failed to avert genocide. In Somalia it looks as if our efforts have been effectively spurned by a people whose need for help seemed, and seems, self-evident.

A word about Bosnia. There has in recent months, mercifully, been more peace in Bosnia. It is a fragile, uncertain, inconclusive, often interrupted peace, but it is still better than what went before. We necessarily discuss Bosnia all the time. The debate in particular in this building about the United Nations arms embargo has at times seemed to rage more fiercely than the fighting on the ground. Certainly the diplomatic efforts have been frustrating. And I can understand those who believe that reverting to a fight, even a fight to the death, would be

preferable to the tangle of negotiations and compromise that sometimes seems to stretch ahead for ever.

Nevertheless, I do not agree with that opinion. We should value, we should build on, the advances that have been made, we should value the lives that have been saved by the reduction in fighting on the ground. We can now see perhaps more clearly that the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has been essential in protecting civilians and in preventing the Bosnian Serb army from making further advances. Who here can believe that Gorazde, or Srebrenica or Zepa would still be in the hands of the Bosnian Government if it were not for the bravery and commitment of UNPROFOR troops?

UNPROFOR can operate only if it is able to keep lines open to all the parties to the fighting. It could not continue if leading members of the United Nations were rearming one side; UNPROFOR would then be identified as a party to the war. It is not mandated or equipped for that purpose. Our Secretary-General has endorsed that view, and the Commander of United Nations forces in Bosnia has rightly said "We have not come here to fight a war from inside white painted vehicles".

So I welcome the decision of which we heard yesterday from the Bosnian President, the decision to accept that now is not the moment to lift the arms embargo. And that Bosnian decision allows UNPROFOR to continue its mission. We have said before that if the Bosnian Serbs do not join the peace process and agree the map presented by the Contact Group, then our present approach may become exhausted. Lifting the arms embargo may become unavoidable, as we said at Geneva in July, and in those circumstances UNPROFOR would have to withdraw. But it would not be a good policy. Indeed, it would be a policy of despair, a policy that, as in Shakespeare's *King Lear*,

> "Bids the wind blow the earth into the sea,
> "...
> "That things might change or cease". (King Lear, *Act III, scene i, l. 5*)

A real solution to the conflict, as always, lies with those who are doing the fighting. We from outside must continue to show all the parties that the way forward is political agreement and not more military action. There is a settlement plan, the settlement plan of the Contact Group, on the table. Those who refuse it, those who continue the warfare, must be isolated, must be put under sustained - indeed, increased - pressure. Those who cooperate with the international peace plan effectively, in deeds and not just in words, should have that cooperation recognized.

I need to say a few words in response to the remarks made yesterday by the distinguished President of Argentina concerning the dispute over the Falkland Islands. President Menem was right - and I am glad that he mentioned it - when he referred to the increasing cooperation between the United Kingdom and Argentina in several areas. Indeed, this cooperation nowadays characterizes our bilateral relationship. And we certainly hope, sincerely hope, that the progress that we have achieved together will not be reversed.

We are quite clear about British sovereignty over the Falkland Islands and the other British dependencies in the South Atlantic, so we were concerned at the recent incorporation into the constitution of Argentina of the new clause to which President Menem referred. It seems to us that in these Falkland Islands, as in Northern Ireland, we must heed the wishes of the people concerned. Indeed, any other course for us or for the United Nations would be inconceivable. This body has heard those wishes of the Islanders expressed, most recently by their elected representatives who visited the United Nations for the debate in the Committee of 24 last July.

So we have a difference. But despite this difference, we have joined a dialogue with the Argentine Government on fisheries and petroleum development. We look forward to resuming discussions in the near future with the Argentine authorities on a new agreement on fishing and on the development of possible hydrocarbon resources in the South Atlantic continental shelf. We are also discussing the welcome Argentine offer to remove mines from the Falklands. It seems to me that that is the rational and logical path to the wider progress of which the President of Argentina spoke.

I return to this Organization. It is often the target of criticism because it cannot solve every problem laid at its door. We all know that there is scope for improving the performance of the United Nations here in New York and, more critically, where the United Nations and its agencies are in action on the ground. The steps taken so far are a beginning, but only a beginning.

Machinery cannot run on thin air. The United Nations can only run on the fuel that we, its Member States, supply to it. So where it has failed, we must not pretend that the failure lies with the system. It lies with

us. The failure of the United Nations is our failure, and so it is for us to take action. For example, the sufferings of the Rwandan refugees will not be helped by Member States' holding their heads in their hands. Their hands should be ready to provide from their pockets what is needed to remedy such suffering.

Preventive diplomacy is the ideal. But it often will not be enough. We have to be prepared for the demand for peace-keepers to continue. There are practical ways in which we can respond better to that demand: first, by ensuring that we learn the lessons from our experiences in peace-keeping; secondly, by taking practical steps to improve our capacity to keep the peace, especially in Africa; and, thirdly, by reforming our financing system.

I should like to say a brief word about peace-keeping. It is often impossible to predict at the outset of a mission what demands or dangers United Nations troops will encounter. Within limits, they must be ready to improvise. But allowing their role to drift from peace-keeping to taking sides in a war carries high risks to the troops themselves, to the political process they support, and to the ability of the United Nations to put in peace-keepers elsewhere. It undermines the willingness of Member States to contribute troops. So in making their decision to contribute to a United Nations operation countries need to be confident that their troops will be supporting peace and not becoming a party to war.

Rwanda put this to the test, and we were found wanting for a response for the time being. The issue was not really whether the United Nations should have sent an intervention force to stop the fighting - which it clearly could not - but whether it could find the means, the men and the equipment, for a force to protect the civilian population. That, tragically, took far too long.

That is the latest lesson we need to learn from. It is not now, it seems to me, a question of will, because there is a far greater readiness than there used to be to contemplate intervention on the ground to mitigate or prevent humanitarian disaster. It is not so much the will, the intellectual willingness; it is the resources, the know-how, the ability to respond swiftly, which are still not enough.

You, Mr. Secretary-General, have pointed this out over and over again, and I should like to pay tribute to the patience and persistence with which you have rammed home this lesson and sought not merely to tell us the truths about it but to persuade us into practical action and remedy. I agree with what you have said on many occasions. We need to work hard and fast to overcome obstacles which are essentially practical.

We British will continue to contribute practically. We have 4,000 British men and women in blue berets, from Georgia to Rwanda, something which would have been thought inconceivable even 10 years ago. We have the seconded British experts at United Nations Headquarters. The speed with which the Department of Peace-keeping Operations has adapted to cope with ever-increasing demand has been impressive. The development of the professional military staff at United Nations Headquarters has been particularly welcome. So has the trend to bring more seconded staff in alongside United Nations personnel. But it will be vital also to help to strengthen our ability to respond quickly in areas where it remains weak. Africa, in the light of experience, should be a priority.

Africa's need for peace-keepers is plain to see: nearly 40 per cent of all United Nations peace-keepers are deployed in Africa. Africa needs peace. There can be no doubt of that, because it is only in peace that Africans will succeed in finding their own solutions to their problems. The remarkable events in South Africa earlier this year showed that.

The efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to develop a coherent approach to the prevention of conflict are welcome. They deserve our full support. But the OAU has warned that its resources are not enough. I believe that the United Nations must respond. By setting up a coherent structure of support systems, running from early warning and preventive diplomacy right through to humanitarian and peace-keeping deployment on the ground, we can make sure that the skills and resources can be put into action as soon as the need arises, and not months later.

What does that mean? It means, first, an early warning system. Not all conflicts can be foreseen. Some are triggered by assassination or a *coup d'état* or other sudden events. More often, surely, we can see trouble brewing: competition for land and resources, ethnic or religious rivalry, the gradual breakdown of law and order, ill-judged responses by central governments. We need a mechanism to pull together information and analysis of events like these, to take a regular forward look at potential troublespots and decide whether preventive diplomacy needs to be triggered.

Then, secondly, it means a capacity to react, that is to say, to intervene diplomatically before warfare breaks out. We do not have that capacity now. Britain and France - we announced this last year - have offered help, making available experienced diplomats and offering equipment and support. There needs to be an institutional framework. In Europe we have the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which operates to agreed principles and has intervened, for example, in Ukraine, Moldova and the Baltic States to try to help parties to resolve disputes before there is recourse to fighting. The OAU has its own experience of pre-emptive action, and it would clearly need to be the focal point of an enhanced effort in Africa. I am proposing that the United Nations should help the OAU and African countries to share this expertise and establish agreed mechanisms for preventive diplomacy in Africa.

But, thirdly, that will not always be enough. Peace-keeping skills will continue to be in demand. We must build up the necessary capabilities in Africa. Many African countries already make a major contribution to peace-keeping - Ghana, Egypt, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia, to mention just some. But we all know the United Nations has not been able to deploy in Africa with the necessary speed and effectiveness.

I therefore propose that, under the auspices of the United Nations, a number of military staff colleges existing in Africa should become peace-keeping skills centres; that is to say, they should give training in doctrines and disciplines of peace-keeping, and in mediation and conflict resolution.

The physical capacity also needs to be strengthened if intervention is to be rapid when it is needed. That requires United Nations logistics basing centres, like those already existing in Europe, to store equipment and ensure that it is quickly available, with rapid mobile logistics teams, earmarked by Member States, to help to maintain that equipment in good running order and to give training and on-the-spot maintenance support. Again, the lesson of Rwanda is clear. These centres will also need headquarters staff to identify and remedy logistic weaknesses, give advice on maps or communications and advise existing and potential troop contributors.

These are not proposals for enormous new machinery. We need a framework within which existing resources, capability and know-how can be mobilized. We will strongly support such an effort. It needs further discussion - above all, among and with African countries. We would welcome such discussion soon, here in New York, to develop these ideas, other people's ideas and take some practical decisions quickly.

Finally, money. As you, Mr. Secretary-General, remind us, as you are bound to remind us, the United Nations at the moment works miracles with what we do not pay it. It simply cannot keep running on exhausted credit. It must be able to pay its peace-keepers, for example. We will not be able to build up the operations of the United Nations unless we act now to put the finances of the United Nations on a sound and sustainable footing for the long term.

No radical change in principles is needed, but we do need a sensible updating of the way in which assessments are calculated. The existing system was adopted in 1973. Much has changed. No one now would propose that States with above average per capita incomes should enjoy an 80 per cent discount on their peace-keeping contributions. No one now would suggest that discounts for all the newly independent Member States should be absorbed by five countries in an open-ended arrangement. But that is the system. It means that some countries are paying too much and others too little. It means that we now need to put these anomalies right. Moving to a system based on relative capacity to pay, with automatic adjustment for changing circumstances, would not mean very much change for most countries, but it would mean a fair, equitable basis on which the long-term viability and therefore vitality of the United Nations could be assured.

A word about the Security Council. Reform is on the agenda - that is quite right - and I believe it is in the interests of the United Nations to sort out the question of enlargement in good time. We would like the momentum of discussion to be maintained.

Next year's fiftieth anniversary is a good milestone for the debate. We will work hard for a good outcome, both on enlargement and on transparency, where recent informal arrangements to improve consultation on peace-keeping between the Secretariat, the Security Council and troop contributors should be further developed.

We should ensure that the Council is representative, while avoiding an enlargement so great that it puts at risk the effectiveness of the Council. If consensus can be reached, then clearly there are countries that, by virtue of their global interests and their contribution to international security and United Nations operations,

should be invited to accept the responsibilities of permanent membership.

I have concentrated today on how we deal with crises and defuse tensions. But, of course, those are only some of the challenges that our Organization faces. Drug trafficking and associated international crime are other threats to our security and well-being. We need to give new energy and encouragement to all those who are involved in developing cooperation against those threats. I mention this because I feel that we must give particular support to the United Nations International Drug Control Programme. This is the programme that has the responsibility for leading all the world's efforts in this field. Once again, the United Nations is the best resource we have for tackling a menace that threatens the whole world.

In conclusion, we can say confidently that the United Nations is indispensable. It is not a perfect glass palace, but it is the best building we have, even though the winds still blow cruelly through its gaps and its defects. We all, therefore, have a duty to repair, make good, build afresh.

Next year we will look back rightly on the achievements, and the list of achievements is long. But it will remind us, and we will remind ourselves, of what has not yet been achieved. And I hope that will stir us to show the same vision, the same strength of purpose as the founders of the United Nations, with, I hope, results of equal value for the next 50 years.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of China, His Excellency Mr. Qian Qichen.

Mr. Qian Qichen (China) *(interpretation from Chinese)*: At the outset, I should like warmly to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that given your outstanding talent and consummate experience, you will fulfil this lofty mission with distinction. At the same time, I should like to express my appreciation and thanks to Mr. Samuel Insanally for the positive contribution he made during his presidency at the last session.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to extend a hearty welcome and congratulations to the delegation of South Africa, which is taking part in the work of the current session. We are convinced that a united, democratic and non-racial new South Africa led by President Nelson Mandela will contribute positively to the peace and development of Africa and of the world as a whole.

The world is still undergoing profound changes, and the transition toward multipolarity has accelerated. Economic factors are playing a greater role in international relations. Relaxation of tensions has become the main trend of the world today. However, hegemonism and power politics continue to hold out. Regional hot spots flare up intermittently. Destabilizing factors tend to multiply, thus compounding the volatility of the international scene. The maintenance of peace, strengthening of cooperation and promotion of development remain the major challenges of our era.

To eliminate regional hot spots and settle international disputes are the world's priorities and the common concern with which the international community has been trying to deal in one way or another. Experience has shown that such practices as interfering in other countries' internal affairs and resorting to pressure, sanctions or even force at will cannot help; they can only increase the complications and difficulties that stand in the way of a final solution. In the interest of maintaining regional peace and stability, the international community and regional organizations should take an appropriate and effective approach, that is, to promote dialogue and negotiations between parties directly concerned so as to reach a solution acceptable to all sides. This has been best illustrated by the breakthrough achieved in the Middle East peace process and by the progress made on the Korean nuclear issue.

United Nations peace-keeping operations can play a positive role, but not all of them have been successful. Experience and lessons learned in this regard should be summed up. It is our consistent view that peace-keeping operations should strictly conform to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the norms of international relations. Such operations should be undertaken with the consent and cooperation of the parties concerned, and an impartial and unbiased attitude should be maintained. No peace-keeping operations or humanitarian aid programmes should be permitted to interfere in the internal affairs of any country, still less to use force or become embroiled in a conflict between the parties. A lesson should be drawn from what befell the United Nations peace-keeping forces in Somalia.

Here I wish to underline the importance of strict adherence to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

as the basic means to prevent international conflicts. These principles, namely, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, were jointly initiated four decades ago by China, India and Myanmar - called "Burma" at the time - and were subsequently embodied in the 10 principles formulated by Asian and African countries at the Bandung Conference and in the purposes and principles espoused by the Association of South-East Asian Nations and other regional organizations of the developing countries.

The history of the past four decades has testified to the immense vitality of the Five Principles. All nations, notwithstanding their differences in social systems, ideologies, values or religious faiths, can live in amity and carry out mutually beneficial cooperation as long as they abide by these principles. Failure to do so will lead to friction, confrontation or even military conflicts. In a world as diversified as ours, nations have no alternative but to adhere to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and to find common ground while shelving their differences in order to live together amicably and pursue common development.

The peoples of the world have long lived in the shadow of a nuclear holocaust, due to the all-out nuclear arms race between the two super-Powers during the cold war, which resulted in a massive stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Now the international situation has drastically changed. Not only can we avert another world war, but the chances have increased for the complete prohibition and thorough elimination of nuclear weapons and for mankind ultimately to eliminate the threat of a nuclear war.

China has always stood for the complete prohibition and thorough elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. The Chinese Government holds that a convention on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons should be concluded in the same way as the conventions banning all biological and chemical weapons, respectively. As a signatory to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, China is in favour of its extension. Yet a mere extension of the Treaty is obviously not sufficient. With a view to ultimately ridding mankind of the threat of a nuclear war and ushering in a nuclear-weapon-free world, the Chinese Government proposes the following.

All countries that possess nuclear weapons should pledge unconditionally not to be the first to use them and should immediately start negotiations to conclude a treaty on non-first-use of nuclear weapons against each other; efforts for the establishment of nuclear-free zones should be supported and all nuclear Powers should undertake not to use or to threaten to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapon State or nuclear-free zone; negotiations should be undertaken with a view to concluding a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty not later than 1996; the principal nuclear Powers should implement their existing nuclear disarmament treaties as scheduled and go on to drastically cut back their nuclear stockpiles; negotiations should be undertaken to conclude a convention banning the production of weapon-grade fissile materials; a convention on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons should be signed under which all nuclear Powers should undertake the obligation to destroy all their nuclear weapons under effective international supervision; and international cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy should be vigorously promoted simultaneously with the efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and step up the nuclear disarmament process.

The above points make up an integrated and interrelated nuclear disarmament process. We hold that all States, whether they possess nuclear weapons or not, are entitled to participate fully in this process.

Since mankind has been able to make nuclear weapons and tap nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in the twentieth century, we are confident that in the twenty-first century it will be able to completely ban and destroy nuclear weapons and fully harness nuclear energy to enhance its own welfare. Before the advent of the new century, we stand ready to join the other nuclear as well as non-nuclear States to blaze the way towards this lofty goal and make our due contribution to its ultimate realization.

It is now an international trend to give priority to economic problems. Hence all countries are devoting themselves to economic development and the expansion of international cooperation. This year the world economy has started a recovery and East Asia continues to maintain a high growth rate. But there is unevenness in the world as a whole. It is disturbing to note that the impoverishment of some developing countries has worsened. In the interest of common development, we call for the abolition of protectionism and of discrimination in international economic relations and trade. Neither global multilateral trade arrangements nor regional economic and trade cooperation should be exclusive. The principles of openness, equality and

mutual benefit should be upheld. The World Trade Organization, to be founded next year, should from the outset be a broadly representative and open trade institution based on equality and mutual benefit.

The world economy is an interdependent whole. Developed countries should make more tangible contributions to global economic development and the expansion of international economic cooperation. Primarily they should take effective measures to open their markets, provide development funds, transfer technology and increase assistance to the developing countries to reduce their debt burden, thereby contributing to their economic growth, social stability and relief from poverty. Such actions will in turn bolster the economic growth of the developed countries themselves.

The international community and the United Nations should be more concerned with development matters and in particular should actively help the developing countries to achieve prosperity. We appreciate the Secretary-General's efforts in submitting the Agenda for Development pursuant to General Assembly resolutions. We hope that our deliberations thereon will serve to reinvigorate world economic development and international cooperation.

The Chinese Government considers economic development the central task of the whole nation and makes reform and opening its basic state policy. This year we have taken a new series of major steps to intensify the reform and opening which have the effect of ensuring sustained, rapid and healthy economic growth. Gross domestic product, foreign trade volume and overseas investments registered increases in the first six months of 11.6 per cent, 25.5 per cent and 54.9 per cent respectively, compared with the corresponding period last year. We will step up our all-directional opening-up and continue to work for world prosperity. We have been striving for an early resumption of our contracting party status in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. A solution to this matter will be in the interest of both China and the world as a whole. China needs to cooperate with the rest of the world which in turn needs such an important trading partner as China. A World Trade Organization without China would be inconceivable.

Human society continues to move forward and make progress. But social ills still stand out starkly such as poverty, unemployment, the deteriorating environment, the population explosion, refugees, illegal immigration, drug trafficking, crime and injurious and unfair treatment of social groups such as women, children and the disabled. Some of these problems have become even more acute, and have cried out for a remedy by the world community through international cooperation. We consider that it is necessary to step up such cooperation. Because conditions vary, different countries face different social problems. Each country has to draw up social development policies adaptable to its own conditions. International cooperation in this field should adhere to the principles of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit without political strings or interference in domestic affairs. Developing countries account for the majority of the world's population and are in a disadvantaged position socially. This is where the emphasis of the United Nations social programmes should be placed.

In recent years we have actively supported and participated in important international conferences on the environment, human rights and population under the auspices of the United Nations. We will actively take part in the World Summit for Social Development, to be held in Copenhagen next March. The Chinese Government attaches great importance to the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing in September 1995. The Chinese people, our women folk in particular, are preparing for and looking forward to this grand event with tremendous enthusiasm.

In response to the call in the documents of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the Chinese Government has analysed the actual conditions in the country and drawn up "Agenda 21 - White Paper on China's Population, Environment and Development in the 21st Century", which will be an important guide in the formulation of our medium- and long-term national, economic and social development plans.

To ensure and protect human rights is an essential part of a nation's social policy. My Government makes it a basic policy to constantly enhance the people's enjoyment of human rights commensurate with our economic and social development. We always hold that the principle of universality of human rights must be viewed in the context of the actual conditions of a given country. Conditions vary from country to country. It is inevitable and normal that there is divergence of views on human rights issues. We are in favour of dialogue on the basis of equality and mutual respect so as to increase mutual understanding. We are against using human rights as a pretext to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

Next year will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Both the world and the United Nations have undergone drastic changes in that half century. The United Nations is the most representative intergovernmental Organization of sovereign States. Members of the Organization are equal, irrespective of size, strength or wealth.

Notwithstanding its shortcomings, the status and role of the United Nations in global international affairs remain irreplaceable by any other international organizations or groupings. It is the hope of the people of the world that the Organization will better fulfil the mission conferred on it by the Charter and and that it will make even greater contributions to the maintenance of peace and the promotion of development.

To cope with the greatly changed international situation and grim challenges ahead, United Nations institutions should undergo relevant and necessary reforms. In our view, any such reforms should serve to maintain and enhance the positive role of the United Nations in international affairs and improve its efficiency. At the same time, the reforms should take full account of the concerns and interests of the developing countries, which make up the majority of the membership, so that their role may be enhanced. The function and role of the General Assembly should be strengthened. Reform of the Security Council must be aimed at facilitating a better performance of its functions under the Charter. Any enlargement of the Council's membership must fully conform to the principle of equitable geographical distribution to ensure broader representation. Actions by the Council should better reflect the collective will and common aspirations of the entire United Nations membership.

To prepare for the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, China has set up a national committee, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolution. We hope that the commemoration in various countries in the coming year will be used to review the experience of the past and look to the future so that we may carry forward the purposes and principles of the Charter and enable the Organization to do a better job in maintaining peace and promoting development.

It was sad that the first half of our century witnessed two world wars with disastrous consequences for mankind. The ensuing cold war cast a dark and menacing shadow of war over the world for the greater part of the second half of the century. It is gratifying, none the less, that we have been able to fulfil the historic mission of eliminating the centuries-old colonial system from the Earth within this century. This is unquestionably one of the greatest achievements of contemporary human society.

Looking ahead to the twenty-first century, we are fully confident of the future of humanity. The Chinese people will make common efforts with all other peoples of the world to usher in a new century of peace and prosperity.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, His Excellency Mr. Alain Juppé.

Mr. Juppé (France) *(interpretation from French)*: France is especially pleased, Mr. President, to see the General Assembly meeting under your authority. At the end of a year marked by the passing of an extraordinary statesman, President Houphouët-Boigny, your election has given the international community another occasion to stop and think about the situation in the African continent, which in recent months has brought us both hope and tragedy.

In South Africa, a decisive evolutionary process took concrete form this year in the first elections there with universal suffrage. We can now express our joy at seeing that country take its rightful place in the concert of nations. The choice of the South African people, inspired by outstanding men to whom France wishes again to pay a tribute, provides an example for all those who aspire to democracy, reconciliation and peace and gives them hope.

In Rwanda, on the other hand, an unprecedented tragedy has set the international community's responsibility squarely before it. The Assembly is familiar with the efforts made by France to respond to that tragedy and with the support it managed to find, primarily among the African States. The operation that was carried out enabled us to shelter more than 3 million Rwandans from the fighting. None the less, we have found it necessary once again to say the word "genocide", which, almost 50 years after the birth of the United Nations, amounts to saying that the worst is still possible.

During the darkest years of the Second World War, General De Gaulle spoke of the need to establish a world order that could guarantee the security of all, to make rational use of all the world's riches and to bring together all the people on the face of the Earth. The time has

come for us to rediscover the ideal that inspired the generation of the founders and to ask ourselves with clarity what means are necessary to implement it.

Almost everywhere in the world we are seeing the positive movement of nation-States into groups. France has made the building up of Europe one of the pillars of its foreign policy. How could it not, then, encourage the formation of new areas of solidarity?

The experience of building Europe, which began 40 years ago, is a case in point. It has done more than just do away with the age-old rivalries that had led to two world wars. In the western part of the European continent, economic integration and political cooperation have attained a level that is unmatched in the world.

Since the iron curtain ceased to exist, we have been primarily concerned with expanding to all parts of Europe the zone of peace and prosperity resulting from that process. This explains our desire to speed up the integration of the Central and Eastern European democracies into the European Union. It also accounts for our efforts to organize a partnership with Russia and the States of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The European Union, the Western European Union (WEU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) are all coooperating in the efforts towards this end. Furthermore, it explains France's initiative, taken up in turn by the European Union, to establish a stability pact. This is an ambitious exercise in preventive diplomacy, aimed at resolving issues of relations between neighbours and of minority groups, where such issues persist in the European theatre.

Today Europe is a world power, as it demonstrated during the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations, at which its efforts led, notably, to the establishment of a World Trade Organization (WTO). This is a major success that will benefit all its member countries by putting an end to unilateral practices and guaranteeing fair and free trade. Europe is thus assuming its international responsibilities. It is actively supporting the peace processes in the Middle East, in southern Africa and elsewhere. It has long been involved in the struggle to achieve development, particularly through the Lomé Conventions. It provides substantial financing everywhere - the most in the world - for peoples mired in humanitarian crises. Its actions prove that a genuine regional power can benefit the entire international community.

New regional groups of solidarity are gradually taking shape in all parts of the world. In Africa, France supports the principle of an OAU mechanism for preventing, handling and settling conflicts. We are ready to help set up a military mechanism to enable the OAU to intervene more quickly, under United Nations control, in the framework of peace-keeping operations.

In South-East Asia, the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are working to strengthen their economic ties and to establish confidence-building measures to reinforce the stability of the region. France, which through the European Union was present at ASEAN's regional forum on security, held recently in Bangkok, takes a special interest in the beneficial effects this process should have on the countries of the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

On the American continent, the entry into force of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) adds to the dynamism of existing regional organizations, old and new.

Thus, perhaps, there may be such a group in the Middle East as well, where progress in the peace process allows us to envision the development of intensive regional cooperation. The organization of all kinds of ties among the countries concerned will help to establish peace in the region, as will the search for solutions to the political problems that are still pending. France can therefore only repeat that we hope to see the boycotts finally ended. Our financial support for the peace process, as well as our active participation in the multilateral negotiations, including participation in such ultra-sensitive areas as regional security, reflect this very same conviction.

Above and beyond that, France would like to see Europe organize a forum for cooperation involving all the Mediterranean States. We have, on the initiative of Egypt, already made a contribution to the coming into being of the Mediterranean Forum, which recently held its first meeting in Alexandria. We will make this one of the main goals of the French presidency of the European Union in the first semester of the coming year.

Everywhere, then, the progress being made in processes leading to integration and the establishment of regional frameworks for cooperation reflects positive trends. These organizations, however, have neither the right nor the capability to do everything. It is the United Nations that is and must remain the sole forum for

organizing peace and solidarity throughout the world. It is up to the United Nations and to that Organization alone to ensure international equilibrium since, in the last resort, it alone has the power to decide on enforcement measures or on the use of force. Regional organizations do contribute to peace and international stability. They may indeed fulfil missions in preventive diplomacy, but they must then be inspired by the principles enshrined in the United Nations. As regards peace-keeping, Chapter VIII of our Charter expressly provides that the United Nations may, in certain circumstances, employ the means at the disposal of the regional organizations.

But when conflicts become exacerbated, when a crisis calls for a mandatory solution, the Charter requires us to turn to the Security Council, the sole authority having power to decide on enforcement measures or on the use of force other than for legitimate self-defence. The justification for such measures may come only from the will of the international community, and that is why the Security Council, in our view, must exert its authority and control at all stages of operations it may decide upon: conception and approval of the mandate, the major phases of implementation and the monitoring of implementation.

The adoption of a system of mandatory sanctions against States that breach international legality is also a prerogative of the Security Council. But, and we are very keenly aware of this, this concerns serious, exceptional measures whose purpose must be precisely defined to bring pressure to bear on a Government to change its attitude. That is the objective in such instances. France therefore proposes that in future, when a resolution imposing sanctions upon a Member State is to be voted upon, three conditions must be met. These are, that all other diplomatic avenues have been explored without success; that the Council resolution state explicitly what actions the targeted State should take in order for the sanctions to be lifted; and that the maintenance of the sanctions should be subject to regular review in good faith.

In the realm of disarmament, our Organization is once again the sole forum where international commitments may be entered into. Given this perspective, France ascribes especial importance to the speedy ratification of the Convention banning chemical weapons - the first multilateral disarmament treaty - and thereby its entry into force in 1995. France hopes to see our Organization make progress towards strengthening the Convention banning biological weapons and to see new efforts made to ban anti-personnel mines. I was particularly pleased to hear President Clinton endorse this very concept in his recent statement to the Assembly. Finally, the requirement for non-proliferation, which North Korea's attitude compels us to take especially seriously, must lead, at the 1995 Conference, to the unconditional and indefinite renewal of the non-proliferation Treaty. In this same vein, France reaffirms its support for the decision taken by the General Assembly last year to begin negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty that would be internationally and effectively verifiable.

Over recent years, crisis prevention and crisis management have absorbed the greater part of our efforts. We have thus imperceptibly strayed somewhat from what was a major chapter in the history of the United Nations: the North-South dialogue, the major conferences on trade and development. France thus proposes that the United Nations restore development and the struggle to achieve it to their central place in its work.

It is not a question of repeating what was done in past decades. Our approach to development has changed. The work pursued under the auspices of the United Nations and its agencies has helped to call attention to the interdependence of the economic, demographic, cultural and social ramifications of the development question. That is why the main theme conferences devoted to the environment, to population, to social development and to the status of women are now once again the instruments to be used to mobilize for development. Given this perspective, France will organize in Paris before the end of this year the signing of the Convention on the struggle against desertification, as well as the Aids Summit.

The United Nations alone is capable of ensuring that all these efforts be pursued consistently. It has the necessary legitimacy and authority, inasmuch as all the main institutions concerned, including what are known as the Bretton Woods institutions, are part and parcel of the United Nations system. We therefore consider it necessary to strengthen the links that unite all these separate bodies. In particular, we should ensure that the policies of adjustment carried out under World Bank or International Monetary Fund auspices take due account of the social requirements of development. France is committed to doing so in working with its partners, and has recently agreed to a substantial effort to help the franc zone countries overcome the short-term effects of the devaluation of the CFA franc.

The Economic and Social Council should be the place for ensuring coherence and consistency within these

organizations. France therefore proposes that the next annual meeting of the Council in Geneva should be an opportunity for the ministers of Member States personally to undertake a complete examination of the policies followed by these various institutions with regard to development, and especially to study specific ways by which they might work together better.

The Secretary-General's efforts for renewal and clarification through the "Agenda for Development" naturally form part of this global approach. The European Union, for its part, has presented recommendations in its *aide-mémoire* that it believes would enhance that draft. France intends to take an active part in General Assembly discussions on this subject.

The role of our Organization is no less critical where humanitarian action is involved. France intervenes regularly on the ground alongside United Nations agencies, and we should like to pay a tribute to the outstanding work done by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme and UNICEF, working under tragically difficult circumstances. We were able to appreciate in full measure their usefulness as the Rwandan crisis unfolded. We have had confirmation that the United Nations alone is able to coordinate such difficult operations. Naturally, there is need for further progress: in shortening the Organization's reaction time, and in better allocating tasks among agencies. But the reform that began three years ago with the establishment of the Department for Humanitarian Affairs is beginning to bear fruit. We are indeed on the right track.

Lastly, France would like to stress the underlying principle of international law: the universality of human rights, a principle which may not be challenged in the name of any religious, cultural or national specificities. I am all the more ready to say that because France is itself keen on preserving its identity and intent on defending it. However different people may be, they share the same rights. The very existence of our Organization rests on this principle.

France has consistently urged the acceleration of progress in the field of human rights, by seeking recognition that certain principles must be applied to States' actions. I welcome the steps taken by the High Commissioner for Human Rights since his designation and express the hope that the resources made available to him will be commensurate with his mission.

The establishment of the International Tribunal for war crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia is a significant event. Until very recently there had been some scepticism about this initiative. Today, thanks to the resolve of the Tribunal's judges and prosecutor, it is in place and beginning to examine actual cases being submitted to it. France supports these efforts and hopes that comparable crimes of genocide that may have been committed in Rwanda will also lead to the establishment of an international legal body.

The juridical work of the United Nations extends to other areas as well. It is designed to address matters of international trade with a view to making it both freer and fairer. In this regard, I have already expressed our satisfaction at the establishment of the World Trade Organization. The signing a few weeks ago of an act that completes the monumental work done by the United Nations on the law of the sea is also a historic event.

If our Organization is to be able to carry out the many difficult tasks which I have just described, we must constantly work to reform it and adjust the means available to it - in the first place, by strengthening the means available to the Secretary-General. On behalf of France, I should like to pay a tribute here to the Secretary-General - and this is not a mere formality. We have the good fortune to have at the helm of our Organization a man who, thanks to his ceaseless efforts over the past two years, has made progress possible in all areas: preventive diplomacy, crisis management, development, the running of the institution. We must therefore give him the means to continue his work.

This is true, too, of peace-keeping missions. Recent experience has shown the need to make military forces available to the Secretary-General on very short notice in the implementation of Security Council resolutions. To that end, France wishes to develop a network of stand-by forces. On the initiative of the President of the Republic, we have offered to make a standing unit of several thousand men available to the United Nations. It is also essential for the Secretary-General to be able to control the evolution of peace-keeping missions. To that end, France recommends systematic recourse to the designation of a special representative.

The Secretary-General must be able to rely on the assistance of prominent and particularly competent persons. With regard to management, last year's establishment of the post of Inspector General marked an important step forward. We expect further progress to

be made this year with the establishment of a committee on budgetary discipline, as I proposed last year from this very rostrum. Lastly, as our Prime Minister has suggested, France proposes that someone be appointed on a permanent basis to the Secretary-General's Office who would deal with the question of the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Our Assembly is the most universal of international institutions. Its prestige and authority must therefore be strengthened. To that end, France is making three proposals.

First, sessions of the Fifth Committee must be held more closely together in order to ensure better control over our finances, particularly with regard to peace-keeping operations.

Secondly, there must be more frequent missions of the Assembly to deal with certain crisis situations, as was done in the cases of Haiti and South Africa. The financial reform of the United Nations, which has been discussed for several years now, must be set in motion. Following the work of the high-level Working Group established last year to consider the question of enlarging the Security Council, France proposes that a group, led by the President of the General Assembly, be set up this year to make proposals that could lead to the financial reform of our Organization.

Thirdly, we must work to achieve the enlargement of the Security Council. This question has already been the focus of in-depth discussions that have clarified the positions at issue. For its part, France has no panacea to offer, but it believes that the solution must answer the dual imperative of efficacy and representativeness.

On the one hand, if the Security Council is to function efficiently, given its tasks and the circumstances in which it intervenes, its capacity to take important decisions quickly must clearly be maintained. But the Council must also allow for full public debate in reaching its decisions. Hence, we are in favour of the Council's holding official meetings - without of course giving up its informal consultations - to hear Members of the Organization and talk with them before taking positions on the important questions before it. We believe that this is the appropriate response to the demand for transparency made by many delegations.

On the other hand, the Council's authority and thus its efficacy also depend on its representativeness. We therefore favour the enlargement of the Council to include new permanent and non-permanent members. France confirms its support for the desires of Germany and Japan to accede to permanent membership. It also considers that the representatives of the developing world should in no case find themselves marginalized by any future reform.

The United Nations exists and acts only through the will of its Member States. Though that is obvious it bears repeating. Any failure of our Organization is in fact the failure of those same States - that is, as my colleague from the United Kingdom stated earlier today, our own failure. Its efficacy depends above all on the degree of commitment each of us brings to it.

Without the commitment of States there can be no solution to the financial crisis of the United Nations. Each of us is aware of the gravity of our Organization's financial situation. Each of us also knows that this critical situation is not the result solely of the sum total of expenditures. The real source of our crisis is well known: it is the negligence of States which do not pay their contributions or do not pay them in full.

Of course, we welcome the fact that one of the main contributor countries has decided to pay a substantial part of its arrears, thereby bringing temporary relief to the Organization's financial situation. We can understand why some Member States are requesting that the scale of contributions be adjusted in order better to reflect real abilities to pay. France hopes that at the present session the General Assembly will address the revision of this scale in accordance with the principle of fairness and in a spirit of consensus.

But fairness also requires swifter and more substantial reimbursement to States that provide the troops necessary to peace-keeping operations and are therefore the primary victims of late payments. The situation in which some in fact pay twice while others do not pay at all must come to an end. France therefore asks once again that a working group be established and mandated to propose all the measures that can encourage tardy States to pay their arrears.

And without the commitment of States there cannot be any solution to international instability. France has made considerable efforts to help resolve crises that have threatened the international order over the past few years. It has been the first and is now the second largest troop contributor to the United Nations. It has well-known experience in the three areas of preventive diplomacy,

peace-keeping and humanitarian action. Obviously, France does not wish to lecture anyone, but its own commitment does permit it to say that the readiness of States does not meet the demands made today upon our Organization.

Need we cite all the circumstances in which the non-participation or temporizing of States has compromised action mandated by the Security Council? How many weeks did we have to wait last year for the military arrangements provided for under Security Council resolution 824 (1993) on safe areas in Bosnia were finally in place? We all remember that, during the Rwandan crisis, the decision taken by the Security Council in mid-May to strengthen the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda had yet to be implemented two months later.

Rather than dwelling on these disappointments, however, France wishes to pay tribute to all those States that have shown, by their commitment and sense of international solidarity, that the United Nations can prove that it is effective. The African countries that chose to share with us the risks involved in the operation in Rwanda; the United States, which is working in Haiti to effect the implementation of Security Council resolution 940 (1994); the States whose soldiers stand with ours in the United Nations Protection Force: it is thanks to them that there remains a chance for peace in the former Yugoslavia, delayed only by the stubbornness of the Bosnian Serb leaders. France expects that the greatest of firmness will be used in dealing with these most recent warmongers. But the change in position of the other parties, and in particular the authorities in Belgrade, makes it incumbent upon us to continue to seek a negotiated settlement. In this spirit, we appeal to Presidents Izetbegovic, Tudjman and Milosevic, who have all accepted the peace plan for Bosnia, to resume the direct dialogue necessary for a comprehensive settlement. Otherwise, the international community must be prepared to propose the terms of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement, taking into account the legitimate interests of the various communities that made up the former Yugoslavia and must enjoy equal rights.

Bringing to trial those responsible for war crimes is a moral imperative to which France is committed. We must above all make the people in the former Yugoslavia understand that there are prospects for the future other than endless violence and vengeance. That is France's message. That is the reason for the commitment of our soldiers in Bosnia and, sadly, the sacrifice of several dozen of them. There is nothing pre-ordained about failure to get involved, or inertia. There is a strong will at the heart of our Organization. Therefore France appeals to all Member States to mark the fiftieth anniversary with a genuine renewal of commitment.

Voices are being raised today urging our Organization to show greater realism in defining the missions that it has to carry out. In appealing to Member States to mobilize, France wishes to reaffirm its unwavering conviction that, in the face of the challenges to the international community, realism consists not in being less ambitious but in ensuring that we have the means fully to achieve our ambitions. They must not be limited to what seems possible; they must be to make possible what is obviously necessary. It is in this spirit that France will continue actively to play its role within the United Nations.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, His Excellency Mr. Gennadi Udovenko.

Mr. Udovenko (Ukraine) *(spoke in Ukrainian; English text furnished by the delegation)*: It is a great honour for me to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the distinguished and very important post of President of the General Assembly.

I am confident that your knowledge, experience and consummate personal skills, which you have demonstrated both as Permanent Representative to the United Nations and as President of the Security Council, will allow the successful resolution of the complex problems the international community is now facing on the eve of the celebration of the United Nations half century.

I would like also to express my appreciation to the President of the previous session of the General Assembly, Ambassador Insanally, whose wise guidance resulted in the adoption of an entire set of constructive decisions to the benefit of all Member States of the United Nations.

The year that has elapsed since the previous session of the General Assembly has witnessed important international developments, in many of which the United Nations was both a catalyst and a participant. They included the historic turn towards peace in the Middle East and the elimination of the apartheid system in South Africa. Positive developments are expected in Ulster and in other hot spots of the planet. The completion of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany and the

Baltic States has at last marked the end of the European history of the Second World War. In this context, the leaders of the Russian Federation should be given their due for displaying political courage and foresight.

Radical changes have also taken place in the political, social and economic life of Ukraine, which recently celebrated the third anniversary of its independence. The Ukrainian people, of their own free will, in a truly democratic way, elected Leonid Kuchma as the new President, and has elected the Parliament of the country. New leaders have come to executive power. Naturally, all of these developments are generating broad interest in, and closer attention to, Ukraine.

In this connection, different - sometimes arbitrary - predictions have been made concerning the direction of our domestic and foreign policies, and even regarding their possible reorientation. Many radical and even diametrically opposed views have been heard - for example, whether the political pendulum in Ukraine will swing to the East or West, or whether Ukraine will remain an independent State and preserve its political sovereignty.

In taking the opportunity to speak from this rostrum, I should like to clarify these important issues.

First, the State policy of Ukraine will be consistently based on the authority established by the Ukrainian people when it confirmed, almost unanimously, its choice of independent development during the national referendum held in December 1991. This reality is decisive, and rumours that Ukraine will eventually lose its sovereignty are absolutely unfounded. We shall continue to follow the path of building an independent State, and a return to the situation which prevailed in the former Soviet Union is impossible.

Secondly, what also seems to be an oversimplification is the question of where Ukraine will be, whether in the East or the West, of where it will go. I think it is precisely here in this Hall, which brings together representatives of all continents and regions of the world, that the artificial division into East, West, North and South is especially strongly felt. Today the world is becoming more integrated, and political indicators of geographical affiliation of countries are gradually disappearing. Ukraine, like any other State, cannot simply "go" East or West. It is there, where it has been for ages, and where it will stay for ever. Its main task as a historically ancient but politically young State consists in gradual integration into the European and world political, economic, humanitarian and other processes as a reliable link in a new global system of international relations.

Of course, there will be corrections to our policy. The world has changed considerably, even in comparison with that period of time when Ukraine emerged on the political map as an independent State. All of us, including Ukraine, have to take into account new realities and respond to them appropriately. This is particularly so when we deal with the question of the intensification of mutually beneficial and equitable cooperation with the Russian Federation and with the other countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). But these relations will by no means be developed at the expense of our contact with our other partners. Ukraine is equally concerned with strengthening relations with the United States; Germany; Canada; the countries of Central and Eastern Europe; the States of Asia - above all, China and Japan; as well as other countries of the Asian-Pacific region, Africa and Latin America. In other words, the range of our foreign policy interests is very broad. I would like to emphasize that at the international level Ukraine will protect its national interests, including its economic interests, with increasing dynamism and pragmatism.

These are the corrections that will be made to Ukraine's foreign policy, which, despite domestic political changes, remains, as President Leonid Kuchma has stated, predictable, consistent and weighted. There can be no doubt whatsoever in this respect: Ukraine has been committed, and will continue to be committed, to fulfilling its international obligations, consistently and in good faith. This is a solid foundation of our foreign policy.

The wave of political romanticism yielded to a time of severe trials in the political, social and economic lives of the newly independent States that emerged from the former Soviet Union. Linking the titles of two well-known novels, the overall tenor of the mood of society in the post-communist world might be described as "great expectations gone with the wind".

To speak frankly, those feelings were not spared Ukraine, which immediately declared its readiness to cooperate honestly and openly with all interested partners. However, our State, after having made persistent efforts, has felt that only recently has the world community come to understand its position. At the same time, the reality of the current situation of Ukraine is that we are still the subject of pressure and suspicion from

outside and that we continue at times to encounter open reluctance to understand the essence of the problems we are facing. This greatly aggravates the present and still difficult economic situation in the country and hinders the process of market reforms.

Today, Ukraine is facing the difficult tasks of overcoming an economic crisis, of normalizing its social and economic situation and of creating favourable domestic and international conditions for gradually raising the living standard of its population. The President and the new Government are focusing their efforts on those tasks, but I must note that Ukraine's problem in surmounting its economic crisis has an international dimension as well since, because of its geopolitical situation, the establishment of Ukraine as a sovereign and economically developed State is an important factor for peace and stability on the continent of Europe. There is therefore every reason to assert that support for Ukraine - both political and, especially, economic - is a reliable investment in the strengthening of international security. These facts are gradually being accepted, and the discussion of the Ukrainian question at the Naples Summit Meeting of the Group of 7 was evidence of this trend.

The existence of a group of countries undergoing transition to a market economy has become a real factor in current international relations. Ukraine is a part of that group. Our experience is showing that the transition period will not be smooth, that it will be fairly lengthy and that it will necessitate considerable effort, including international effort. There is, however, no alternative. Those very aspects of statecraft will be the focus of President Kuchma's attention in the policy statement he will soon deliver to the Parliament. I should also like to note that the difficult economic situation in our country can to a considerable extent be explained by the vast financial burden of nuclear disarmament and the eradication of the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster. Those problems are not solely Ukrainian; they have a global dimension as well. In this connection, one positive development is the fact that the problems of countries undergoing the transition to a market economy are gradually coming to occupy a rightful place in the varied activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

However, it seems that donor States, while declaring their support for the implementation of reforms in countries undergoing transition, are still being excessively cautious in providing adequate support to specific projects in Eastern Europe and in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Today, that attitude is beginning to pose a serious problem.

We are also looking forward to target-oriented activities by the international community designed to create favourable conditions for free access to the world market for exports from countries in this region, particularly Ukraine. In this connection, Ukraine welcomes the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and firmly intends to accede to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)/WTO system. We hope that that system will promote trade liberalization and facilitate the creation of an open and transparent system of trade. After all, the intensification of international trade is an integral part of economic development.

As a European country, we are primarily concerned with the problem of security in Europe in the broadest sense of that term. I should like to express some views concerning Ukraine's vision of ways to safeguard peace and stability on that continent.

The difficulties of making forecasts in the field of international relations can be explained by the number of new risks and challenges to security that have been created by political, economic, inter-ethnic and other contradictions. These have already generated a wave of conflicts to which Europe was not prepared to make an adequate response.

The anxiety on the continent of Europe is clearly demonstrated by the ongoing search for new machinery to ensure State security in Eastern and Central Europe, of which Ukraine is also a part. The point is not that appropriate structures to strengthen security in Europe do not exist. There are the activities of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Western European Union (WEU) and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), and the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States are also seeking ways to achieve collective security. However, for various reasons none of those structures is able adequately to fill the military and political vacuum created in the region following the disintegration of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty.

That is why Ukraine strongly supports initiatives aimed at all-European cooperation in various fields, including the field of security.

I should like to recall that Ukraine was the first of the CIS countries to become a signatory of the NATO Partnership for Peace programme and the Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation with the European Community. The Ukraine became a party to the Conference on the Pact on Stability in Europe and has put forward initiatives for the strengthening of security and cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Black Sea region.

However, it should be acknowledged that, notwithstanding all their positive features, neither the Partnership for Peace programme nor any other measures undertaken can yet ensure reliable security safeguards for the States concerned.

In the existing situation it seems reasonable to focus attention on a detailed examination of the question of creating an all-European security structure that would involve all the existing structures in this field - the CSCE, the NACC, NATO, the WEU - and, of course, the States of the former USSR should have an appropriate place in that structure. Ukraine advocates just such an approach, namely, the strengthening of partnership and cooperation in an all-European dimension rather than a search for new geometrical schemas which would, in fact, solidify the division of the European continent, small as it is on the global scale.

We feel that the strengthening of stability and security in the all-European sphere can and must be supplemented by regional actions that could be organically integrated into the overall process of confidence-building and constructive cooperation.

Mr. Ansari (India), Vice-President, took the Chair.

In the search for such steps, Ukraine put forward the initiative on confidence-building measures in the region of the Black Sea. This region is extremely important to us as a crossroads between Europe and Asia and between North and South. The elaboration and implementation of specific confidence-building measures in the military and political fields in the Black Sea region would promote good-neighbourly relations and political and economic cooperation between the Black Sea countries.

Multilateral consultations on these issues have already begun. Ukraine proceeds on the basis that all Black Sea countries may participate in confidence-building measures. We believe that the measures themselves should be identified in a politically binding document, which would regulate naval activities on the Black Sea, establish a procedure for the exchange of appropriate information and promote the development of contacts between the naval forces of States parties.

The principle of collective action aimed at the maintenance of peace under appropriate international control must be one of the important conditions for the operation of an all-Europe security system. At the present stage, national and international security is threatened not so much by the possibility of military aggression from outside as by local and regional conflicts provoked by domestic circumstances - economic, ethnic, religious and others - and especially by the possibility of their spilling over and involving neighbouring countries. This requires timely preventive action.

Assessing recent developments in the world, we have to recognize that, on the whole, preventive diplomacy is coming to the foreground of United Nations activities aimed at securing, restoring and strengthening peace and of activities of the CSCE. In this context, I should like to express gratitude to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the United Nations Secretary-General, for his significant personal contribution to the development of the foundations in this extremely important field of international activity.

We greatly appreciate United Nations peace-keeping efforts aimed at settling regional conflicts. We realize that such activities require intensive political, physical and financial support from Member States. Unfortunately, the difficult economic situation of our State - not to mention the unjustified excessively high contribution to the regular budget - prevents Ukraine from meeting in full its financial obligation to the United Nations. However, we are trying to compensate, at least partially, through our contribution to the peace-keeping forces.

Ukraine has already become one of the major contributors to United Nations forces, and it remains ready to cooperate in this field. We believe that appropriate protection and security for the peace-keeping personnel are essential conditions for such cooperation. Let us consider the sad statistics. In the course of all United Nations operations more than 1,000 peace-keepers have been killed. In the territory of the former Yugoslavia nine Ukrainian servicemen gave their lives, and more than 30 persons were wounded. The problem of security for United Nations personnel becomes more acute every year. When sending its troops to

Yugoslavia, Ukraine took the initiative of developing an international convention on the protection of United Nations peace-keepers and of submitting a draft of the document. We now await with hope the completion, during the current session, of work on this question.

Developments in the former Yugoslavia and in Somalia compel us to think about the problems of the effectiveness of United Nations peace-keeping operations. The fact that the United Nations, even using the potential of such a powerful organization as NATO, failed to extinguish the flames of bloody conflict in these countries obviously calls for a more thorough examination and a closer definition of principles of United Nations peace-keeping operations. First and foremost, there are such questions as a precise mandate, a link with the negotiating process, the neutrality of the United Nations contingent, the reasons for coercive action and the concept of multinational forces.

Today, with the transition to a multipolar world, it has become evident that no country, however great its potential for military power, can any longer pretend to be an effective guarantor of peace by relying exclusively on its own strength. This would be incompatible with the rules and principles of behaviour that are recognized throughout the world. Unfortunately, the United Nations proved not to be completely ready to assume this important role.

Operations have become increasingly expensive and unwieldy. During the last four years alone United Nations expenditure for these purposes has increased from $350 million to $2.8 billion, thus aggravating the chronic financial problems. In the opinion of the world community, peace-keeping operations have lost their element of the extraordinary and have become routine, and not always successful, emergency actions. But the main reason for the crisis in United Nations peace-keeping efforts has proved to be changes in the conditions and circumstances of conflicts.

Classic peace-keeping operations started after the end of the "hot" phase. That is why they were, in fact, quite effective means of conflict prevention. Now, in many cases, the United Nations intervenes when hostilities are at their height. This changes the principles of the use of peace-keeping forces. It is not always the case that the "blue helmets" are regarded by all the conflicting parties as welcome guests. That is why the United Nations forces' mandate is considerably wider than used to be the case. In some cases they have been given the right to use all available weapons - and not only in self-defence.

The parties to conflicts are often unable to provide adequate conditions for United Nations forces to accomplish their peace-making mission. A distinctive attribute of current conflicts is the phenomenon of field commanders. These people obey no one and, thus, compromise United Nations decisions or agreements reached within the framework of efforts aimed at achieving an armistice.

It is high time to renew the principles and mechanisms of peace-keeping operations on the basis of the United Nations Charter. We feel that it is necessary to accelerate the creation of United Nations rapid-deployment forces, which would recruit volunteers and would be extraterritorial in character. Ukraine has already declared its readiness to take part in this process.

An extremely important issue is the enhancement of the role of international law within the system of international relations and the creation of a climate between States that would completely exclude diktat, interference in internal affairs, the proclamation of so-called zones of special interests, and so on. The United Nations is also making a valuable contribution to strengthening the international rule of law. In this context, Ukraine advocates further enhancement of the rules and principles of international law - first and foremost, such basic principles as respect for the sovereignty of States; territorial integrity and the inviolability of borders; and the protection of individual human rights, including the rights of national minorities. Our State is committed to cooperating with other countries in this field.

Ukraine is also ready to make its contribution to the solution of other urgent problems. It is necessary that we should examine thoroughly and comprehensively the question of the implementation of economic sanctions against those who threaten peace and security. Previous United Nations experience in this field provides grounds for justified criticism of the effectiveness of such sanctions. It is time to give serious thought to the creation of machinery for the implementation of Article 50 of the United Nations Charter. This would protect the economic interests of third countries, which are suffering colossal losses as a result of the strict implementation of sanctions.

Ukraine has already lost more than $4 billion as a result of the implementation of sanctions against Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, the international structures did not extend appropriate assistance to enable our State

to overcome the economic difficulties caused by the embargo. Obviously, collective action aimed at implementing coercive measures cannot be taken on such an unfair basis, as this increases the danger of a loss of confidence in the device of sanctions.

Generally, the necessity of substantively reforming the United Nations, with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of the Organization while reducing at the same time the expenditures for its functioning, is a very serious problem. I am confident that this problem has ceased to be merely an administrative and budgetary one and is moving to the foreground as one of the major political problems. Many countries, including Ukraine, are currently encountering great difficulties in convincing their citizens that it is necessary to make excessively large contributions to the budget of international organizations.

There are still many outstanding problems in the field of arms control and disarmament, which traditionally occupy an important place in the foreign policy of Ukraine. We support efforts aimed at putting into force the chemical weapons Convention. We are taking an active part in the elaboration of effective mechanisms of international control regarding the implementation of the inhumane weapons Convention, the Convention on the prohibition of biological weapons, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, and other international instruments to which Ukraine is a party. We attach great importance to the preparation of the comprehensive test-ban treaty, which is now under way within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament. These activities prove that Ukraine is pursuing a consistent policy in the field of the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, and they demonstrate its openness and readiness to cooperate, its commitment to respect the obligations assumed. Ukraine stands for the equality of all States parties to international treaties and supports the universality and non-discriminatory nature of these treaties.

It is precisely from such a position that Ukraine approaches nuclear disarmament, which, at the present stage, is its most complicated problem. It should be emphasized that Ukraine is the first State in the world that has voluntarily and unilaterally assumed the obligation of eliminating nuclear weapons located in its territory - the third nuclear potential in the world - and that intends to achieve the status of a non-nuclear Power.

The decision on non-nuclear status was approved by the Parliament of Ukraine for the benefit both of the highest interests of our State and of mankind as a whole. This decision was based on the profound belief of our people in the morality of the non-nuclear option and was not the result of any external pressure.

At the same time, Ukraine, as a State that of its own free will is giving up nuclear weapons - this most effective means of deterrence - obviously has the right to obtain reliable security guarantees from other nuclear States and adequate economic and technical assistance from the international community for the elimination of these weapons.

Unfortunately, our partners did not immediately comprehend these just demands, and we lost a lot of time. The Ukraine Parliament's conditions for revoking its reservations at the time of the ratification of the START Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol, and for proceeding with the practical withdrawal of nuclear warheads from Ukraine with the view to their further elimination, were created only after the Trilateral Statement by the Presidents of Ukraine, the United States and the Russian Federation was signed and the relevant implementation agreements were concluded.

Very soon the Parliament of Ukraine intends to consider the accession of our State to the non-proliferation Treaty. Today, the settlement of this issue depends mainly on the finalization of an acceptable text of the document concerning the provision of guarantees for Ukraine's national security by the nuclear States.

Ukraine stands for corresponding guarantees to be multilateral and to be addressed directly to Ukraine as that State which for the first time in history, on its own, is getting rid of nuclear weapons; these guarantees should provide a mechanism of consultations, which could become involved should the security of Ukraine be threatened. In this process, we attach great importance to the role of the United Nations as the most authoritative international organization.

In conclusion, I would like to express optimism concerning the future development of the United Nations and international co-operation. Current international life is highly complicated and contradictory: there are alarming moments and there are frustrations, but there are also truly historical shifts which have led to the end of the cold war and to the transition to constructive co-operation. It is highly symbolic that this is happening on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of our Organization, which emerged from the ruins of the Second World War. On behalf of Ukraine, which suffered very heavy losses

in that war, I would like to support the proposal to proclaim 1995 the universal year of commemoration of the victims of this, the bloodiest of wars.

Present-day realities are laying a sound foundation for global cooperation, stability and peace. Let us therefore make every effort not to lose this historic opportunity.

The President: I now call upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, His Excellency Mr. Karolas Papoulias.

Mr. Papoulias (Greece) *(spoke in Greek; English text furnished by the delegation)*: Allow me at the outset to extend to Mr. Amara Essy the warmest congratulations of the Greek Government on his election to the presidency of the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are particularly pleased that his presence this year will provide the African States, with which Greece maintains excellent relations, with a further opportunity to make an essential contribution to the successful outcome of our work. I would also like to thank Ambassador Insanally for the constructive and efficient manner in which he performed his duties as President of the General Assembly during its forty-eighth session.

I wish to take this opportunity to address sincere congratulations to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who is striving with courage, energy, political will, vision and perspicacity for a new world, a world in which law and ethics will prevail, and for the restructuring of the Organization to enable it to meet the challenges of our time. He has our full support in his efforts to fulfil his mission.

The Foreign Minister of Germany, in his capacity as President of the Council of the European Union, delivered a statement yesterday on behalf of the European Union and its member States. My Government subscribes to its content. However, I should like to address some issues of particular interest to Greece which, apart from the statement of my German colleague, Klaus Kinkel, are further elaborated in the European Union's memorandum.

The United Nations is facing the challenges and preoccupations of our times. And now, more than ever, it must become the forum to which all those who are suffering injustice will naturally resort, knowing that justice will be done. To this end, it is the duty of all to abide by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which they have accepted of their own free will, and to observe the rules, to the development and establishment of which they have contributed. In this context, all must respect United Nations resolutions, particularly those of the Security Council, the body on which the international community has conferred primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. This is the only way in which we can strengthen the moral stature of the United Nations and contribute to the attainment of its goals.

Bearing this in mind, we welcome and strongly support the efforts of the Secretary-General in the area of preventive diplomacy and the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security, within a broader framework which, in addition to the political and military aspects, also has an economic and social dimension, particularly with respect to the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Respect for human rights constitutes one of the most important factors for the maintenance of international peace and security and must be regarded as a prerequisite for development in all areas and for democratic existence. The Vienna World Conference on Human Rights was an important milestone, as was the establishment of the post of High Commissioner for Human Rights, whose mandate we fully support, and the mission of the Centre for Human Rights. The principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, as well as other international acts and instruments, should guide the actions of all Member States on a daily basis.

The international community is called upon to confront many problems among the Members of the Organization. Fortunately, considerable progress has been achieved during the past year with regard to some of them.

I should like first to refer to the case of the Middle East. Greece, a neighbouring country and a traditional friend of the peoples in the region, is particularly pleased by the continuous and promising steps taken recently to strengthen peace and security and to arrive at satisfactory arrangements for the Palestinian people, steps which will open up prospects for a final, generally acceptable, settlement of the long-lasting Middle East crisis.

The other case I should like to mention is that of the restoration of democracy in South Africa. Who would not agree that the peaceful change achieved in that country by leaders such as President Mandela and Vice-President De Klerk, is an example to follow? This

change was made possible, however, only because both men had the will to abolish the system of apartheid and to establish a democracy based on tolerance and respect for human rights.

In both cases Greece did its utmost to contribute to the successful outcome of the efforts pursued to achieve these results.

However, during the same period of time, mankind has had to endure crises which have caused incalculable loss of human life and tremendous suffering. Unfortunately, there are many such examples that could be mentioned in Africa, Asia, Central America and Europe. Rwanda, whose tragedy borders on genocide, is one of the most telling cases. Greece, as a member of the European troika, took part in a mission of the European Union to Rwanda and its neighbouring countries, in order to assist in the task of finding solutions to this tragic political conflict and to the problem of the refugees.

As a representative of a Balkan country that has a primary interest in stability in the Balkans, and contributes decisively to its consolidation, I will now refer specifically to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, which continues to be a source of serious concern to the international community, and to European countries in particular.

In spite of the major efforts of the international community, war is raging in the region for the fourth consecutive year. The victims on all sides are countless and the number of refugees is increasing dramatically. Greece actively participates in all international peace-making efforts. During the first part of this year when Greece held the presidency of the European Union, my country undertook a series of initiatives, aimed at arriving at a political solution of the conflict through negotiations.

The proposals of the contact group constitute a realistic basis for a settlement and must be accepted by the Bosnian Serb side as well. President Milosevic's decisive stance *vis-à-vis* the Bosnian Serbs strengthens this approach, and we hope that it will lead the Bosnian Serbs to accept the peace plan. In this context, we welcome Security Council resolutions 942 (1994) and 943 (1994).

The concentration of efforts aimed at ending the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina does not mean that less attention should be paid to a solution of the problem of the Krajinas, nor that its importance should be underestimated. Greece is willing to contribute actively to the *rapprochement* of the parties involved, so that a mutually acceptable settlement might be achieved.

We have, however, inherited yet another problem since the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, that of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. It lies in the fact that the new State insists on calling itself "Macedonia". The Greek people and the Greek Government cannot accept this denomination because, together with provisions of the Constitution of Skopje, of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the propaganda against our country, as well as the appropriation of Greek national and historical emblems on their flag, it indicates irredentist claims against Greece. We hope that the good offices of Mr. Vance, on the basis of Security Council resolution 817 (1993), and the ensuing negotiating process within which Greece has demonstrated its good will and constructive approach, will soon bear fruit.

Another serious international and European problem, which is of considerable interest to the United Nations, the European Union and Greece in particular and which, unfortunately, remains unsolved, is that of Cyprus. More than 20 years after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus and 20 years after this body, in this very Hall, demanded the immediate withdrawal of all foreign occupation troops, a considerable part of Cyprus is still under occupation. Basic human rights are still being violated, and the tragedy of the refugees and of the missing and enclaved persons persists. Furthermore, in spite of the relevant United Nations resolutions, the mass establishment of Turkish settlers continues unabated, thus distorting the demographic composition of the island.

The Secretary-General, in his latest report to the Security Council, unequivocally acknowledged that it is the lack of political will of the Turkish Cypriot side that, over a number of years, has impeded any progress in the peace process. In spite of the many face-saving efforts being made, the Secretary-General's conclusion cannot be questioned. But even if some would wish to deliberately hide from the truth, the recent decision of the Turkish Cypriots, which rejects the very basis for a settlement - namely the Federation - that had been agreed and sought from the start, as well as the unequivocal and unconditional support that this decision received from Ankara, revealed the true Turkish sentiments and objectives: contempt for the United Nations resolutions and the preservation of illegally acquired territories following the invasion and the occupation.

There can be no doubt that this Turkish attitude of provocation is supported by the Turkish military presence on the island, which has gone unpunished for so many years. That is the reason why we believe that the efforts of the international community should focus, as a matter of priority, on the withdrawal of the Turkish occupying troops. In this context, President Clerides' fair and balanced proposal for the demilitarization of Cyprus should be duly taken into consideration.

The Secretary-General's recent efforts are in progress, and we are awaiting their results. However, mere verbal support by the international community for the Secretary-General's initiative will not suffice. The time has come to assist the Secretary-General with concrete actions aimed at Ankara, which is, of course, the key factor for developments in Cyprus. If, however, those efforts are not successful, as has happened in other cases, the international community will have to consider new, alternative methods and measures that will ensure the implementation of United Nations resolutions calling for the restoration of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus, together with respect for the rights and freedoms of all its citizens.

The strengthening of good-neighbourly relations on the basis of respect for international law, national sovereignty, human rights and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States is the cornerstone of Greek foreign policy. The implementation of those principles bears particular importance with regard to the relations between Greece and its neighbours. In this context, it is the sincere wish of the Greek Government that relations between Greece and Turkey be normalized.

It goes without saying that such a normalization of Greek-Turkish relations presupposes a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem and the restoration of the rule of international law with regard to Cyprus. Moreover, respect for international law and human rights, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris, is the only possible basis for the establishment and consolidation of a climate of mutual trust between Greece and Turkey.

Greece abides by the same principles in its foreign policy towards Albania. We aspire, through a dialogue which we have repeatedly sought, to the development of good-neighbourly relations and cooperation in all areas, within a framework of mutual respect for territorial integrity and national sovereignty and of the unconditional implementation of international instruments that safeguard respect for human rights.

Ample evidence of this policy is provided by the extensive and multifaceted economic and humanitarian assistance that my country has extended to Albania in recent years, in support of that country's reconstruction following a long period of totalitarian rule and in support of its economy by various means, including, *inter alia*, the massive flow of remittances from illegal Albanian immigrants, hundreds of thousands of whom live and work illegally in Greece.

On the other hand, the large Greek minority in Albania had been deprived by the previous regime of all its fundamental rights and had hoped that a change in Government would lead to a change in their conditions. Unfortunately, however, the new Albanian Government has pursued the same policies of its predecessors. Members of the minority are persecuted, and many internationally recognized fundamental human and minority rights are being violated in practice and not admitted to, in spite of the verbal assurances to the contrary of the Albanian Government. This is the case, for instance, in the field of education, with which the High Commissioner for National Minorities of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Mr. Van Der Stoel, with whom the Greek Government is harmoniously cooperating, has been especially concerned.

The oppressive policy of the Albanian Government has culminated in the harsh sentences delivered against five leading members of the Greek minority, after a parody of investigation and judicial procedure, as witnessed by unprejudiced observers from international organizations. All the above justifies the impression that the Albanian leadership is promoting a climate of harassment against the Greek minority, so as to force its members to abandon their ancestral homes.

Greece reaffirms that, as it has assured the Secretary-General, it sincerely favours the development of good-neighbourly relations and constructive cooperation with Albania, and calls on the Albanian Government, in conformity with its international commitments, to respect the human rights and the individual freedoms of the Greek minority, so as to create the conditions necessary to ensure the development of such relations.

There are many other problems on which I would like to express the views of my country. However, time

is limited and I will constrain myself to addressing those we deem particularly important.

Significant and daring steps have been taken in the area of disarmament. In spite of the end of the confrontation between East and West, however, arms control and disarmament remain issues of primary importance due to the appearance of new sources of tension which jeopardize our efforts towards the non-proliferation of arms.

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) has played an important role to this day, and we believe that its unconditional and unlimited extension at the coming Conference of 1995 will further strengthen the overall legal status of non-proliferation.

We also hope that negotiations for a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty will soon yield positive results.

Moreover, Greece hopes to contribute to the entry into force of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons at the earliest possible date by promoting without delay the relevant ratification procedures.

Furthermore, my country is deeply concerned about the problem of the increasing presence of mines and other unexploded devices and has decided to declare a moratorium, without exception, on the export, sale or transfer of all anti-personnel land-mines. We call on all States to adopt similar measures.

It is time to accelerate and strengthen multilateral negotiations in the area of disarmament. The international community should prove that it is ready and willing to take the steps which will bring about practical solutions to the problem of disarmament and international security. We believe that an increase of the membership of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva would greatly contribute to that end.

In addition, special attention should be given to the African continent, not only regarding the settlement of political disputes between various States but also with regard to the establishment of the necessary political, economic and social conditions for the restoration of peace and security and the improvement of the economic situation in all African countries.

The United Nations rightly places special emphasis on the economic and social fields, which are so essential to peaceful coexistence among peoples. We must all thoroughly consider the Agenda for Development and attempt to find a way for developing countries to benefit from the achievements of industrialized States. We must work together to find a new form of economic relations, taking into account the difficulties with which we are all confronted.

The International Conference on Population and Development which has just taken place in Cairo, the forthcoming World Summit for Social Development, in Copenhagen, in March 1995, and the Fourth World Conference on Women, in Beijing, in September 1995, as well as all the other meetings that took place last year on economic and social issues, are paving the way in the right direction.

Moreover, I feel it necessary to underline the importance that Greece attaches to the struggle against the international scourge of terrorism. My country unequivocally condemns all terrorist acts and actively contributes - working within the framework of close cooperation with third countries and competent international organizations - to all actions and efforts aimed at their elimination. However, I want to stress that economic and social development, safeguarding the rule of law and respect for human rights and individual freedoms are the most efficient and radical means to do away, once and for all, with this international scourge.

In concluding, I would like to express my country's interest in the future development of the institutional aspects of the Organization, in particular with regard to the Security Council, and to stress that Greece is willing to contribute actively to the consultations currently under way on these issues so as to achieve the best possible result for all Members of the United Nations.

In the same spirit, I would like to reaffirm Greece's full and unwavering commitment to the purposes and principles of the Organization within the context of international cooperation and solidarity. We undertake to contribute with all our means to the struggles and efforts to create lasting conditions that will ensure, at the dawn of the next millennium, that all peoples fully enjoy the benefits of freedom and development within a peaceful, democratic and creative environment.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.